

By Mr. MATHIS of Georgia (for himself, Mr. BEARD, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois, Mr. DAVIS of Georgia, Mr. FLOWERS, Mr. FLYNT, Mr. GINN, Mr. LOTT, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. MILFORD, Mr. PREYER, Mr. RUNNELS, Ms. SCHROEDER, Mr. STUCKEY, Mr. WAGGONER, and Mr. WHITEHURST):

H. Res. 1417. Resolution expressing the sense of the House that efforts of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to promote the desegregation of public schools should be applied with the same intensity, standards, and sanctions in every region of the United States; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. STAGGERS (for himself, Mr. O'NEILL, Mr. DINGELL, and Mr. McFALL):

H. Res. 1418. Resolution expressing the sense of the House concerning energy; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

548. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Guam, relative to the status of the judicial branch of the Guam Government; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

549. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, requesting Congress to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States requiring the balancing of the Federal budget; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 17172. A bill for the relief of Seferino Isaac Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEDZI:

H.R. 17173. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Helen Wolski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PIKE:

H.R. 17174. A bill for the relief of Christine Donnelly; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STOKES:

H.R. 17175. A bill for the relief of Slobodanka Petrovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

532. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Louis K. Lefkowitz, attorney general of the State of New York, relative to the petroleum industry; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

533. Also petition of Donald Matlock, Moorestown, N.J., relative to an amendment to the Constitution of the United States concerning the election of the President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

534. Also, petition of the city council, Youngstown, Ohio, relative to general revenue sharing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

LATE ALLEN J. ELLENDER—BENEFACTOR OF CLOSE UP

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, September 24 marked the anniversary of the birth of the late President pro tempore of the U.S. Senate, Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana.

Senator Ellender was a valued and dedicated supporter of Close Up, a non-partisan, nonprofit forum which provides an opportunity for students, teachers, and government officials alike to share perspectives on "living government." As a tribute to Senator Ellender, Congress created a limited number of Allen J. Ellender fellowships for participation in the Close Up program by students of limited economic means and by their teachers from participating communities.

Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, I have been pleased to meet with students from the Close Up program in Delaware County, Pa., the first nonmetropolitan community sponsored by Close Up. I ask unanimous consent that four letters describing the Delaware County group's visit to Washington be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GLEN MILLS, Pa.,  
May 5, 1974.

Ms. MARGY KRAUS,  
Close Up Program Director,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Ms. KRAUS, I would like to thank the founders of Close Up for making my week in Washington with Close Up possible. I would also like to extend my gratitude to you, Margy, Mike Scott, and Beverly Holmes,

my workshop leader. The idea of the program itself is terrific and I am happy that other youths are able to find out more about their government in this fashion.

I thoroughly enjoyed my week with my group from Delaware County, Pennsylvania and Penncrest High School. I was surprised myself that I was able to raise over three hundred dollars for the Close Up trip in seven days through a special fund raising idea developed by my faculty sponsor, Mr. Robert Lillie. Based on a stock-shareholder plan, sponsors helping us were invited to attend a dinner when we returned from Washington. We had that dinner last week and it was a great success. We, the Penncrest group, supplied the dinner with our mothers' help. The extra monies I acquired were used to help others at my school attend.

I learned a great deal from March 17th to March 24th. I most enjoyed the surprise meeting of Mr. Jack Anderson, who was so gracious as to talk to a group of Close Up students for over an hour Wednesday night.

I was also surprised at how much I was able to apply from what I had learned with Close Up. I am writing a report on my experiences with Close Up for my friends and relatives who have asked to know more about Close Up and my experiences. In many discussions at school and around my community, I have been able to share my experiences and add constructively to the conversations. Also my Social Studies teacher and faculty advisor for Close Up, is forming a Political Science class in hopes that the Close Up students will take the course as a follow up class and introduce other students to the political scene and Close Up.

I have been selected as a Foreign Exchange Student by Rotary International for the 1974-1975 year. I will stay in Ponte Nova, Brazil. I have a host sister attending Boston College who informed me last week that her mother wrote her saying that I would be their American son starting in early July. My Rotary Club that is sponsoring me for my trip helped me to attend Close Up. I will give a presentation to them May 28th similar to the one we gave to our stockholders. I am hoping that I will be able to come back to Close Up when I return in 1975.

I sincerely hope that Close Up's Directors will invite Delaware County, Pennsylvania back next year to participate in this en-

lightening experience. Thank you all so very much.

Sincerely,

L. PAUL MORRIS, Jr.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.,  
April 2, 1974.

Mrs. MARGERY KRAUS,  
Program Director, Close-Up, Washington,  
D.C.

DEAR Mrs. KRAUS: Although I assume you mean the enclosed evaluation form to be anonymous, I'm identifying myself because I'd like to make a few additional comments. I'm Mildred Collier, wife of Bob Collier of Sun Valley High School, and since I was the only non-teacher in the Delaware County group, have a somewhat different perspective than the teacher participants.

I myself wanted to take part in Close-Up not merely for the sake of accompanying my husband, but because I perceived it as a unique opportunity to learn more and to become better-informed. My own expectations were certainly fulfilled by the Close-Up program.

It's an obvious fact, of course, that much of government is conducted behind the scenes in ways not discernible to the casual observer, but I believe one good fallout of Watergate to be a healthy skepticism, an unwillingness to accept official government pronouncements and/or policy, unquestioningly, on face value. Here I think one of the advantages of Close-Up was the firsthand opportunity, which the kids took full advantage of, to ask hard questions of many of the speakers.

My own reaction to the criticism voiced by teachers at the March 22 meeting was that some seemed to anticipate perhaps too much of a one-week program, almost as if the students were expected to come up with instant solutions to the staggering problems facing the country. I would venture the opinion that Close-Up will motivate many students who participated to become involved in, and more aware of, politics at every level, but as with all education, the results may not be apparent for some time.

One final comment—I believe the opportunity for these kids to spend a week in an urban environment such as Washington, and to experience the interchange with

other cultural, racial and age groups, to be a highly educational experience in itself. Delaware County is an unusual area, containing some extremely provincial communities. Although I would guess that the bulk of the students in the group live no more than 20 to 25 miles from Philadelphia, there were some who have never been there, not even to see such hallowed American spots as Independence Hall or the Liberty Bell—a result, in many instances, of the pathology of fear surrounding the "city." Possibly this experience, while not minimizing urban problems, made some more aware of the cultural and educational possibilities inherent in urban life.

Please be assured that the above comments are my own. I enjoyed Close-Up immensely, I believe the students did, and I'm certainly going to make every effort to get letters off to the Congressmen who influence your appropriations. I think your program is fine and deserving of every possible support.

Sincerely,

MILDRED COLLIER.

NEWTOWN SQUARE, PA.,  
May 20, 1973.

#### CLOSE-UP

Washington, D.C.

DEAR CLOSE-UP: I have discovered your questionnaire is not among the possessions I arrived home with, so I am hoping this letter will cover the points.

You have taken a great concept and made it a working reality—you are to be congratulated. In this the teachers of Delaware County agree. Any criticism that you heard was not aimed at the fundamental structure—that was accepted one hundred percent. It was merely trivial complaints or details of personal disagreements.

Perhaps I can best express my feelings about the program by saying that when Gloria and Heidi and Mary Beth and Shirley and I stand up in our Assembly Tuesday morning to tell about CLOSE-UP, we will do it with pride. We are proud of what we learned of the group we were associated with. I believe that is the highest compliment I can pay to any person or group.

I assume your questionnaire asked about what was most/least valuable, etc. To me as a teacher the experience of being with other Social Studies teachers in a stimulating, human environment was a unique opportunity which I made the most of—I have a grasp of their philosophies, problems, solutions, that I could not have obtained elsewhere.

Personally I learned little from the seminars that was new—but that was surely not the case for all faculty members. To me, standing in the Watergate hearing room was the experience of a lifetime and I would never have been there without CLOSE-UP. So do not assume that all faculty which do not appear at all seminars are "free-loading"—they are perhaps finding their own ways of experiencing the politics of Washington and are very appreciative of the opportunity to do so.

Having carefully considered and discussed your format, I conclude that I could not improve upon it (which is an unusual statement for me to make.)

On a more personal level—it was great talking—Ronnie—Dixie—John. The facilities of the 360-acre Charles Ellis School and my services are available any time.

In friendship,

MARTHA B. BARRETT.

DELAWARE COUNTY BOARD OF  
ASSISTANCE,  
Chester, Pa., June 4, 1973.

Mr. STEPHEN A. JANGER,  
Director of Special Programs, Close Up, Washington, D.C.

DEAR STEVE, I want to express to you my sincere appreciation for being responsive to

my proposal to bring Close Up to Delaware County and for the tremendous week that we had learning about our democracy. From our initial discussion you were aware of the risk since we are a small county with only twenty-nine public, private, and parochial schools but you still came. This decision to come reflects the purpose of Close Up which is to go wherever there is a community which wants its students and teachers to participate in a truly great learning experience.

Words cannot express the immense happiness which I saw on the faces of the students and teachers. Despite the demanding but worthwhile and exciting schedule, the majority of students and teachers wanted another week (at the minimum) to learn more about their government and to exchange ideas with the speakers, the Close Up staff, and other students. Since our return, I have learned that students have already met to plan an agenda for their involvement in local government.

During this week, I saw students and teachers with different interests, opinions, and aptitudes come in contact with one another and, to the best of my knowledge, really get along. Indicative of the cohesiveness of the students is that they are planning a picnic.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to your fine staff for their responsiveness and interest on behalf of the students and teachers. Watching your very capable program director, Margery Kraus, with her enthusiasm and energy despite her pregnancy of seven months really gave me a personal lift because I sometimes felt tired.

Let me conclude by again expressing my sincere appreciation. Close Up is a great and needed program designed to give young people and teachers a learning experience which they will never forget.—*Certainly I won't.*

Continued success.

Sincerely yours,

GREGORY STOLIS.

#### SYMINGTON TALK INVITATION WITHDRAWN

HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's article in the Washington Post concerning the cancellation of my appearance as the speaker at the annual dinner of the Georgetown University Alumni Association in St. Louis has prompted many colleagues to inquire into the circumstances. Accordingly I am placing in the RECORD here below both the article itself, and the relevant correspondence as it appeared in the St. Louis Post Dispatch following the cancellation:

[From the Washington Post, October 7, 1974]

SYMINGTON TALK INVITATION WITHDRAWN  
(By Martin Well)

An invitation for Rep. James W. Symington ((D-Mo.)) to speak at a dinner of Georgetown University alumni was withdrawn after objections from antiabortion groups.

Symington had been invited by representatives of the university's St. Louis alumni club to speak at the 23d annual John Carroll awards banquet, to be held in St. Louis on Oct. 19.

The St. Louis club withdrew the invitation

in August after receiving protests that appeared to center on the abortion issue, a Washington-based official of the university's alumni association said last night.

Named for the university's founder, the banquet honors distinguished alumni, and is held annually in various cities throughout the nation under joint sponsorship of the local alumni club and the university's national alumni association.

Abortion proved a major issue during Symington's successful campaign last summer for renomination to the house seat he has held since 1969.

Both Symington and his opponent, John P. Doyle, professed a personal abhorrence of abortion, but Symington spoke frequently about the complex legal issues involved and during the campaign last summer said, "I believe abortion ought to be confined to cases of rape and incest and danger to the health and well-being of the mother." He came under strong attack from anti-abortion groups.

In cancelling the invitation to Symington, the local alumni club acted independently of both the university and the national alumni association, said Joseph K. Dowley, director of programs for the national group.

"The way they felt was if they had picketers, or any unpleasantness outside, it would detract from the whole program," he said.

"Although other people in other capacities might have decided a different way, we weren't out there and don't know the difficulties that faced them . . ." he added.

Dowley said that the invitation was withdrawn not to stop free discourse, but to prevent any incident from detracting from the dinner's purpose—to honor five distinguished alumni.

He described the university itself as having a quite liberal speaker's policy, under which students have heard from "everybody from Abby Hoffman to you name it."

About 300 to 350 persons are expected to attend the banquet. Symington has been replaced as the main speaker by the Rev. Edward O'Donnell, editor of a Catholic newspaper in St. Louis.

In response to the cancellation of the invitation Symington, who could not be reached last night, reportedly expressed concern over the ability of pickets to prevent a congressman from speaking and college alumni from listening.

He was said to have suggested that a university and its alumni should be "among the last to succumb to such tyranny."

Georgetown is a Jesuit-sponsored institution with about 50,000 alumni. Symington, an Episcopalian and a resident of the St. Louis area, is a graduate of Yale College and Columbia University Law School.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch,  
Sept. 5, 1974]

PRO LIFE, ANTI IDEAS: ANTI-ABORTIONISTS  
DON'T WANT TO LET CONGRESSMAN SPEAK

(Representative James W. Symington (Dem.), Ladue, has released the following exchange of correspondence:)

JUNE 27, 1974.

DEAR Mr. SYMINGTON: On Saturday evening, Oct. 19, 1974, the Georgetown University Alumni Association will hold its annual John Carroll Awards Banquet at the Stouffer Riverfront Inn in St. Louis. This affair, which is the highlight of our annual three-day meeting, will be attended by approximately 175 persons from throughout the United States and by 250 persons from the St. Louis area. This is an invitation to ask that you address us as our principal speaker.

I realize that that evening is just 17 days before the election and that your time will be at a premium; however, I ask that you favorably consider our invitation because of the local and national nature of our assemblage.

J. VERNON MCCARTHY.



JULY 24, 1974.

DEAR VERNON: Confirming your telephone conversation with Chuck Houghton, I am delighted to accept your kind invitation to speak at the John Carroll Awards Banquet on Oct. 19.

Look forward to seeing you then.

JAMES W. SYMINGTON.

AUGUST 20, 1974.

DEAR JIM: This correspondence is awful tough to write! To be blunt, the committee in charge of our Saturday night banquet has asked that we respectfully withdraw our invitation which you so graciously accepted. It seems that they have been besieged by the Pro-Life people even to the point of potential picketing. Such an occurrence certainly would not be beneficial to you nor would the Georgetown University Alumnae Association wish to provide a forum for such discussion at our dinner.

I regret these circumstances, I appreciate your consideration and I know that you understand our predicament.

J. VERNON MCCARTHY.

AUGUST 30, 1974.

DEAR VERNON: I have your letter of Aug. 20, and I think I do understand the reasons for the withdrawal of the invitation. In any event I accept them, and will shelve the speech of Great Importance I was preparing.

However, I also think it would be a disservice to the community and the Georgetown alumni to pretend the invitation had never been extended. And judging from the threats the committee has received it would be a little late to do so. It is a matter of public record; we cannot shrink from it. That has happened to me before, and has happened to many of my colleagues. But what is happening to us is of far less importance than what is happening to you, to our country, that is, and to orderly communication between our citizens.

I must assume it is not merely picketing you fear. Lawful picketing is a right guaranteed by the First Amendment. Nor would the dinner be the forum for it, but the street. Yet if a picket or a thousand pickets can intimidate one congressman from speaking and 400 distinguished alumni from listening, then what guarantee is there that a private citizen's views can receive an adequate hearing when he chooses to express them?

Remember, Georgetown is not a sanctuary from ideas. It is a university. My niece is a law student there. One of our great universities, it is located in the heart of the capital of the nation.

A university and those it has taught should be among the last to succumb to such tyranny. How great, Vernon, is the historic distance between the canceling of a speech and the burning of a book?

Remember, too, while the university alumni can undoubtedly recover from my absence, they would by the same reasoning have to withhold their hospitality from Mrs. Gerald Ford, Gov. Rockefeller, justices of the Supreme Court, and the majority of members of the Senate and House of Representatives whose views on this perplexing question may well be even more objectionable to certain groups than mine. Not that they any more than I would use such an occasion to express them.

So do you set a precedent. And the threat-makers, seeing it, will take heart and be emboldened to interrupt any public discourse they please, whether it is relevant to their immediate interest or not.

One last thought. You speak of picketing as not being "beneficial" to me. Well, how detrimental is it? It informs me and the observing public of the views of some of our fellow citizens. One may differ with, without condemning, a movement which reveres all life and which logic must presume to stand

for strong gun laws, expanded welfare programs, equal racial opportunity and amnesty, while opposing war, capital punishment and any foreign policy which is not strongly biased against nations which permit what they deplore.

If, on the other hand you mean not beneficial to my political career, of what importance is that? An elected official either represents the views of a majority on a sufficient number of issues or he faces the likelihood of returning to private life. That is democracy. Someone will take my place one way or the other eventually. But what will take the place of Georgetown University, of free debate, of the legacy we celebrate not just every 100 years but every day? It is something to think about, Vernon.

JAMES W. SYMINGTON.

Mr. Speaker, as a footnote to the foregoing, I would call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that the person selected to replace me on the program is the editor of the Archdiocese newspaper, the St. Louis Review. The Review has served notice that no political advertising will be accepted from candidates whose positions on the delicate question of abortion are unsatisfactory to the paper.

## THE DESTRUCTION OF INFLATION

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter on the effect of the economic slump on one family from a constituent of mine which I found not only informative but profound in posing a fundamental problem that we as public officials have to face.

I would like to include it in the RECORD at this time for the information of my colleagues.

The text follows:

DEAR MICHAEL HARRINGTON: The utter contempt that our government has for its own people appalls me. Our system is not worth saving from the Arabs or the Communists, be they Chinese, Albanian, or Russian. I have just heard a story about a family in Andover that outrages me, and I am ashamed of the United States.

This family of five, friends of mine and of Jane's, have been in financial straits since the recession of the '69-'70 period, and, although the husband, a well trained professional, has been employed in recent months, they were never able to make up the losses they had suffered because his new job was out of his field and his income was substantially lowered. Now he is unemployed, deeply in debt, spending 12-14 hours each day every day looking for work, and they are living on \$100 per week that he gets from the town of Andover and the State of Massachusetts because of his World War II service.

Obviously \$400 per month won't permit him to support his family and spend money travelling (and calling) all over Eastern Massachusetts in search of work. They applied recently for food stamps, and were told yesterday that they were not eligible because they had, I believe, \$210 in their checking account. Two-hundred and ten dollars! My god! Two-hundred and ten dollars that had just been given the family by the V.A. Not one dime in a savings account! Not one share of stock! Not one crummy government bond! Nothing, but an overdue mortgage, bills in the hands of collection agen-

cies, three bewildered children, an anxiety ridden wife, and a god damned good man whose world—the American dream—is collapsing around his head. What can he do?

Ford talks about money for that all-but-convicted criminal in San Clemente, and worries about his financial well being. The Senate Rules Committee goes through its obscene charade with Rockefeller, Ford and Kissinger war game OPEC in public, etc., ad nauseum. I can think of no American institution that escapes the taint of illegitimacy (in social contract terms) or corruption. There are only a few, all too few good men, and I still count you among them. But, what can you do?

One can argue that my friends were the victims of a bureaucratic mistake. There is truth in that, but I have been around bureaucracies long enough and have read enough about them to know that the tone is set by those in leadership positions. Our leadership is disdainful of the powerless, and so are the bureaucrats, public and private, because the dominant ethos of our society is set by the wealthy and powerful. What can any one of us do?

Alfred North Whitehead wrote this about tragedy: "The essence of dramatic tragedy is not unhappiness. It resides in the remorseless working of things. This inevitableness of destiny can only be illustrated in terms of human life by incidents which involve unhappiness. For it is only by them that the futility of escape can be made evident in the drama." However, Jacques Monod reminds us that "destiny is written concurrently with the event, not prior to it."

## LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT

### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Dwight Gustafson, has written me discussing a number of problems. He shows a great deal of Midwestern commonsense:

RED WING SERVICE CO., INC.,  
Red Wing, Minn., October 1, 1974.

Mr. ALBERT H. QUIE,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR AL: I have just read John Sawhill's comments that steps must be taken to "Break the automobile's monopoly on the American transportation system". He seems to want large systems of public transportation. These will be financed with the higher gasoline taxes paid by the people who are not able to take advantage of all this fine public transportation. Has John Sawhill ever been out of Washington, DC? Does he know that there are places in this country where we have a population density of less than 10 people per square mile? What kind of public transportation will help us? I think Sawhill is another one of President Nixon's mistakes. His economics do little to help curb inflation. I am sure that if the oil companies said they were going to raise the price of gasoline \$1.00 per gallon, the hue and cry from Washington would be deafening. The net result to me on a 10 cent tax increase would be exactly the same.

I cannot send my service men to schools, hospitals, factories, and government by bus or train, carrying a load of tools. We are not yet able to fix their equipment by telephone. And if that were possible, Ma Bell would monopolize the business. We use 8 vehicles in our business. We have a mechanic on our payroll whose main job is to keep those cars

and trucks tuned up and running most efficiently. We average 50,000 to 60,000 miles per year on each of our units. We use about 2600 gallons of gasoline a month, a 10 cent raise or tax will add about \$3,100.00 per year to our operating cost. We will have to raise our prices to make this up. How can this help the inflation problem?

Next week I must take a service and sales trip thru the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, and back home to Minnesota. I will have to cover about 5000 miles on this trip. I would like to take Mr. Sawhill along with me so that he can see some of the transportation problems other than those of the big cities. I would like to have him travel along a 55 miles per hour thru prairie land where at times you do not see another vehicle for 25 miles, unless you go faster, then you immediately see another vehicle. He should see some of the land where much of the food is raised for this country. I would even show him a few oil wells.

Is anyone in Washington speaking up for the problems of our part of the country? I don't mean for just the cities. Rural America still makes a rather significant contribution to the well being of this nation. If it is the intention to force urban Americans to use public transportation, lets do it in a way that does not penalize rural America. Close all parking areas. Don't permit parking on the streets. Limit the time allowed for parking to a point where it cannot be used by people driving to work. Let the people who will use this public transportation pay for it.

Someone should tell all the members of Congress that Mr. Nixon is no longer president, he has been pardoned, I believe the law permits the president to do that, now they can forget Nixon and go back to work. Or is that the thought that shakes them up and they would rather keep on beating Mr. Nixon. Why Mr. Ford has to explain his action is beyond me. I must be getting old and stupid. The Democrats have a majority in both houses of Congress. So many of them seem to know the way to cure the inflation problem, why don't they get on with it? They are all too damn busy electioneering, or beating Mr. Nixon.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT E. GUSTAFSON, Sr.

#### KATHRYN COUSINS ELECTED TO AIP BOARD OF GOVERNORS

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure today to pay tribute to the success of a young woman I have known for a number of years, both as a constituent and as a friend. Ms. Kathryn Cousins, a native of southern California, has been elected a member of the board of governors of the American Institute of Planners, a 10,000-member national professional society of urban and regional planners in the United States. The AIP has only nine governors, which are elected by a vote of the full membership. Ms. Cousins will take office for her 3-year term on October 28 during the annual conference of the institute in Denver.

Ms. Cousins received her A.B. in political science and public administration from UCLA in 1966, cum laude. She com-

pleted a masters degree in public administration from George Washington University this past summer. Ms. Cousins began her planning career in the Orange County, Calif., planning department in 1966, where she received a resolution of commendation by the Orange County board of supervisors for outstanding work in preserving historical landmarks. She was a regional planner for 1 year for the Southern California Association of Governments before moving to Washington, D.C., in 1971. Since then, she has been an urban planner for the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Transportation. She is presently an environmental planner at the Highway Users Federation for Safety and Mobility in Washington, D.C., where she directs a project to encourage cities and counties to make transportation facilities more compatible with surrounding land use and the environment.

In a short period of time, Ms. Cousins has gained the respect and admiration of her professional colleagues, as demonstrated by her election to the board of governors. I am sure all of Ms. Cousins' friends both here in Washington and in California join me in extending our sincere congratulations to her. We wish her well in her new position and in all her future endeavors.

#### MINERS' CEMETERY

**HON. PAUL FINDLEY**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, this Saturday, October 12, marks the 76 anniversary of a unique and historic piece of hallowed ground in Mt. Olive, Ill. There, amidst the gently rolling fields and prairie land of the Midwest, lies a few acres of tradition—the only cemetery owned by a labor union in the country.

To that plot of land in 1879 the bodies of four men killed in a strike at a Virden, Ill., coal mine were brought. They have been joined over the years by other heroes of the labor movement, the tragic victims of mine accidents, and the remains of those killed in vicious infighting among the miners themselves.

The cemetery is steeped in history, not only of Illinois, but of labor's struggle everywhere. The fight for a fair break, the battle for decent working conditions and a livable wage. The elaborate granite monuments and simple headstones tell of a way of life, and a time, which, while gone, will always be a part of us.

The Union Miners Cemetery was built by the men, women, and children of Mt. Olive, Ill., because they were not allowed to honor their dead strikers in the city cemetery. To the original graves have been added those of "General" Alexander Bradley, the dynamic organizer of the first great strike of 1897, and "Mother" Mary Harris Jones. The coal mining families of Mt. Olive own the rest, and go there to join their fellow miners when the call comes.

The cemetery's history contains much that exemplifies the uniqueness of our

country. The long and often bitter struggle for enough money to live decently and the sharp inter-union competition exemplify the independence and free thought which have served our country well.

The burial of "Mother" Jones, heroine of the union movement, drew forth these characteristics. She was a strong believer in individualism, doubtful of the good of large, dictatorial organizations of any kind. When she died at the age of 100, her funeral train carried her body from Washington along much the same path as the one which carried the body of Abraham Lincoln to Springfield. Miners from across the State thronged to Mt. Olive for the burial.

It is the spirit of "Mother" Jones, of the miners of Mt. Olive, and of good people everywhere that keeps America alive and on the path of freedom.

It is memories of the past, such as the Union Miners' Cemetery in Mt. Olive, Ill., at peace with nature and out of reach of the economy, which remind us of America's uniqueness, and of union labor's great history.

#### OTHER SOVIET WOULD-BE EMIGRANTS

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is generally anticipated that some formula will be developed by which the trade bill can be passed by this Congress after we return on November 12, with workable language covering the issue of the rights of Soviet Jews to leave the Soviet Union and emigrate to Israel.

An editorial in the Friday, September 20, Christian Science Monitor discusses the subject of Soviet would-be emigrants which I believe must be more accurately analyzed.

Mr. Speaker, we must recognize the historic and totally legitimate desire of the Soviet Jews to migrate to Israel. However, the situation of the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. is almost completely reversed. For example, Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians want nothing more than to have the Russians leave their countries so that they can once again enjoy the right of self-determination.

I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point:

#### OTHER SOVIET WOULD-BE EMIGRANTS

Not only many Jews want to leave the Soviet Union. Other nationalities, too—Lithuanians, Armenians, Ukrainians—are represented among those Soviet citizens trying hard to make their way to the West.

Unfortunately, they command little world attention. They do not enjoy the support of powerful Western organizations, like the Zionists, which can agitate on their behalf. They do not have much political clout in parliaments abroad. But they bravely persist.

The ethnic Germans are a case in point. Since Moscow's rapprochement with Bonn many hundreds are now permitted to emigrate each month. But not as many as would like. Some 3,500 heads of families, represent-



ing about 15,000 ethnic Germans in Central Asia, have appealed to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to help them to West Germany. And protests by ethnic Germans from Estonia have grown in recent months.

There are roughly 1.8 million ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union, most of them living in Siberia or Central Asia where they were deported during World War II. How many would leave if the doors were flung wide open is hard to estimate. But it is to be hoped the West does not forget these and other Soviet minorities as it urges the Kremlin to conform to civilized international standards of free emigration.

#### A TRIBUTE TO CASIMIR PULASKI

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the occasion today is one of great significance, not to Polish Americans alone but to Americans in general. For on this day we hail the name Casimir Pulaski—hero of the democratic revolutionary cause in Poland, his native land, and in America, the land of his adoption.

Unlike the Boston merchant or the farmer in the Piedmont—unlike the fisherman on the Carolina coast or the backwoodsman in western Pennsylvania, Casimir Pulaski was not himself a victim of British oppression in the year 1776. Indeed, he was at that moment far removed from oppression of any kind. Of noble birth, of wealth, and family distinction, he was free to live in peace wherever he chose. And yet, in those tumultuous times, peaceful complacency was not the mark of a man, and Pulaski was in truth a giant among men.

Having fought as a cavalry officer against the Russian domination of Poland, and having as a result been driven into exile, Pulaski ventured to France where he was advised of the impending American Revolution. Fired by the spirit motivating the American cause, and perceiving therein principles identical to his own, Pulaski offered his services to the Americans, who accepted them with gratitude.

By the summer of 1777 Pulaski was in America, ready for battle, and in September of that year took his place in the American line, as a volunteer at Brandywine, where his conduct earned him instant recognition as an outstanding military leader.

In the battle of Germantown he was again prominent, and with all due haste he was appointed to a cavalry command. At Trenton, in the winter of 1777, Pulaski's cavalry fought brilliantly, and when the Colonial Army began its desperate foraging campaign of that dreadful winter, once again Pulaski played a major role.

It was noted by everyone concerned that Pulaski was a fiery spirit and a master organizer. Working well with fellow officers, he urged along the Revolutionary cause, bolstering the cavalry morale and ever confident of victory. Primarily, however, he was a demon in battle; a horseman of consummate

skill, a swordsman of savage intensity, and a leader with the knowledge, intuition, and daring sufficient to the needs of the moment.

At Valley Forge Pulaski organized the cavalry force that was to become known as Pulaski's Legion. Stationed at Baltimore for a time, Pulaski grew impatient for battle and asked for a transfer to the scene of war. The request was granted and the Legion moved north, engaging the enemy in frequent battles, throughout New Jersey. When once again a lull developed, Pulaski asked again for transfer, and was dispatched quickly to the South, where the British were operating effectively out of Savannah.

In several sharp encounters in northern South Carolina Pulaski reinforced his reputation as a fighter of furious nature and great courage. And when the Americans moved against Savannah Pulaski was foremost in the vanguard of the attacking columns.

Urging forward his men, in the midst of withering fire, he fell, seriously wounded. Removed at once to an American ship in Savannah Harbor, he was examined by doctors, but his wounds proved fatal.

So it was for this great man, Casimir Pulaski, whose dream of freedom was to benefit millions and millions of Americans to come, including a host of immigrants from his native land and their descendants. To men of such caliber we of this period must pay our respects, in the knowledge that without their insight, their fire, their courage, and their determination, we in America would have today far fewer sacred freedoms than we do. And as freedom-loving people we would find this intolerable.

Pulaski was indeed a hero in the classic tradition. If he had any shortcomings as a soldier, they were not apparent to any but the most severe critic—for his gallant death served to ennoble even his mistakes in the eyes of posterity.

#### CONGRESSMAN MILLER ANNOUNCES RESULTS OF SOUTHEASTERN OHIO PUBLIC OPINION POLL

### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to share with my colleagues in the Congress the results of our recent public opinion poll of the residents of southeastern Ohio. To date, we have received over 19,000 responses to our district-wide questionnaire.

The survey reveals that the people I represent believe inflation and crime are the two most important issues facing the country and that a balanced budget and reduced spending are the best ways to control inflation.

Questionnaires such as this serve as a most effective means for people to communicate their views and concerns on major national issues.

The questionnaire results follow:

#### PUBLIC OPINION POLL

1. Should the Congress reimpose the death penalty for the most severe crimes?  
Yes, 81%; no, 16%; undecided, 3%.
2. Do you favor a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion?  
Yes, 42%; no, 50%; undecided, 8%.
3. What do you think is the best way to control inflation?

#### In percent

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| a. Impose across the board wage/price controls | 19 |
| b. Place controls on certain economic areas    | 12 |
| c. Reduce federal spending                     | 35 |
| d. Increase federal taxes                      | 5  |
| e. Balance the Federal budget                  | 29 |

4. Do you favor the repeal of year round daylight saving time?

Yes, 54%; no, 33%; undecided, 13%.

5. Do you support federal registration and licensing of all firearms?

Yes, 37%; no, 50%; undecided, 13%.

6. Should the United States cut back on its military and economic commitments around the world?

Yes, 59%; no, 24%; undecided, 17%.

7. What do you feel is the most important issue facing the nation:

#### In percent

- |                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| a. Education        | 3  |
| b. Tax Reform       | 7  |
| c. Crime            | 22 |
| d. Health Care      | 9  |
| e. Inflation        | 27 |
| f. Energy Crises    | 8  |
| g. Welfare          | 10 |
| h. Impeachment      | 4  |
| i. Environment      | 3  |
| j. National Defense | 7  |

#### THE BABY IN RUSSIA

### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, too often, Americans hear only of a few aspects of Soviet life: Emigration policies, persecution of minorities, bad harvests, and the status of East-West trade. The exotic headlines tell little of daily life in Russia, its struggles and rewards.

The Washington Post recently carried a series of articles describing the everyday life of Muscovites. The first article depicts events surrounding the birth of a baby. I recommend it to my colleagues:

#### THE BABY IN RUSSIA: TRADITION REIGNS

(By Robert G. Kaiser)

Moscow.—A Moscow street scene, a young man with a worried look standing on the sidewalk gesticulates toward a nearby building. From a second story window a young woman in a bathrobe, smiling reassuringly, waves at him. The Soviet Union's population has just grown by one.

Husbands aren't allowed to visit the maternity hospitals where Soviet babies are born. In keeping with a national phobia about germs and babies, even the mother is separated from her new child for the first 24 hours of its life, and sometimes longer.

She will spend about 10 days in the hospital and will see her husband only from a second-story window until she and the baby are sent home.

Motherhood is governed strictly by rules and regulations, both formal and inherited. At a lecture for expectant mothers, the doctor (like most, a woman) warned her

audience: "Stay calm and take long walks every day. Don't eat too many sweets or your skin will itch. Wear only wool or cotton clothes, baby doesn't like it when you wear synthetics. Come to the polyclinic regularly for your ultraviolet rays (a source of Vitamin D)."

Many in this audience are girls of 18 and 19, the age of brides in more than half of Moscow weddings. It is still common for a newly married woman to use her first pregnancy as the occasion to become a mother.

That is not as absurd as it sounds. As a rule, birth control is not practiced in the Soviet Union. Abortion is the most widely used means of preventing unwanted children. In big cities, 80 per cent of all pregnancies are aborted.

The young women at the lecture are shy and ask no substantive questions. They listen to an explanation of what is going on inside them, and to advice about how to cope with labor and delivery.

Breathe deeply, the doctor advises, oxygen is the best antidote to pain.

She shows them how to rub their stomachs during labor.

There are no exercises, no elaborate breathing patterns like those taught to women in the West who want to have their babies without anesthetic. There is no choice about that here, anesthetic is used only in emergencies.

American women are told that the Lamaze method of natural childbirth is based on a Russian technique, but the Russians have never heard of it.

Toward the end of pregnancy a mother is given the telephone number of the maternity home where she is to go when labor begins.

The system doesn't always work smoothly. One mother called the number she'd been given, but there was no answer. That maternity home, she learned later, was closed for "remont," a ubiquitous Russian term meaning repair and refurbishment.

Another woman had been treated at a special clinic for those whose babies, doctors feared, would be born prematurely. After eight months of pregnancy she was told not to come any more since her baby wasn't going to be premature.

She had not yet contacted another clinic when labor began. It was late at night, and she left home with her husband to find a place to have her baby.

One maternity home turned her away because there were no empty beds. But first the nurse on duty bawled her out for coming to have a baby without the proper change of clothes.

Then they went to the hospital for premature babies, and were turned away because her baby was not premature, and space could not be wasted on normal babies.

A third establishment agreed to allow this woman to come in and have her baby. (Under the Soviet medical system, a citizen is theoretically entitled to free treatment in every medical institution.)

It was a boy, healthy and noisy. Everything turned out fine. The British may have coined the phrase "muddling through," but the Russians have mastered the art.

The delivery was uneventful, though loud. Two or three women may give birth in the same delivery room at the same time, which results, according to many witnesses, in a lot of screaming.

Russian mothers expect birth to be difficult and painful. They don't seem to look forward to it. Some of the stories of those who have had babies must discourage pregnant women.

One Moscow woman recalls lying in her own blood on the delivery table for four hours after her baby was born. The nurses, cleaned up all around her, but ignored the new mother. When finally transferred to a proper bed, she was left with her dirty

sheets until she screamed loudly enough to have them changed.

Once the new baby is home, little is left to chance. There are strict rules and traditions to be followed; they hardly change from generation to generation. The baby must be wrapped up like a sprained ankle, head to toe, often with a piece of wood as a brace, to make sure the baby's neck can't move. The baby must sleep on its back, wrapped in blankets.

Breast feeding is mandatory. If a mother does not have enough milk, she can buy human donor's milk at special stores. The Russians have never heard of baby formula. When told of it they tend to shudder, and to doubt its efficacy.

#### WHEN A BABY COMES HOME, RUSSIAN FAMILY LIFE CHANGES

The baby can be bathed only in boiled water, and only when submerged up to its neck, to avoid chills. The recommended treatment for diaper rash is corn oil. Petroleum jelly isn't available. The lecturer at the maternity clinic recommends that diapers be made from old sheets. Rubber pants are not sold here.

After several months, a typical child shifts from mother's milk to special milk products, sold at special baby kitchens. A thin, mild yogurt is the most popular. A mother must be registered on the baby kitchen's list to get this specially sterilized product, and she must pick up her supply every few days, or the kitchen will take her off the list.

Mothers are advised not to stop nursing an infant in the spring, when fruits, and vegetables are beginning to reappear after the long and barren Russian winter. Better to wait until mid-summer, the theory goes, when baby has absorbed the stronger vitamins and minerals of these fresh foods from mother's milk, and will be better prepared for them when independent feeding begins.

Well, independent isn't quite the right word. Russian parents (even, it seems, those who read contrary advice in Dr. Spock, whose book has been translated into Russian) don't believe in letting a baby try to feed itself. The mess is offensive, and the inefficiency wasteful. So it is not unusual to see a mother patiently spooning each mouthful into a child of four or five.

In sum, the arrival of a new baby in a Russian family changes the entire orientation of family life.

Energy and resources are withdrawn from most other pursuits and redirected enthusiastically at the newcomer. No amount of fussing over the baby could be considered excessive.

The family budget can be destroyed by expenditures on baby carriages, blankets and other paraphernalia. It is fashionable to buy one's equipment all in pink for a girl, or in blue for a boy.

"Russians are an irrational people," one Moscow artist observed recently. "We are afraid of the unknown. And what could be more unknown and unknowable than this little creature who suddenly appears among us? So we devote ourselves entirely to it, in hope this will somehow satisfy it, or remove the mystery."

Continuity—the guarantee that old traditions are sustained—is provided by the famous Russian "babushka," or grandmother. Not every young couple has *babushka* living nearby, of course, but a large percentage still do.

Her role is often greater than mama's own, especially when mama goes back to work when the baby is between three months and a year old. (Virtually every woman of child-bearing age living in a town or city holds a full-time job. A young mother is not likely to challenge her own mother's views of how to raise the child, especially if the grandmother actually does most of the raising.)

It is difficult to quarrel with many of *Babushka's* notions. Her basic principle is love and affection, praise and appreciation to the highest possible degree. But this is coupled with a complete deprivation of independence from the earliest stages, which child psychologists in the West would find confining.

*Babushkas* are so sure of their basic standards that most of them unhesitatingly tell young parents on the street, even total strangers, when they are making a mistake. An American father took his 15-month-old daughter for a walk in Moscow recently. The daughter was dressed in rain gear from rubber boots and pants to sou'wester, and was running merrily through a puddle, back and forth.

An elderly lady walking by came up short. "Papa," she said in a stern voice. "How dare you? How can you allow it? Her mama would never allow it..."

*Babushkas* routinely look into other peoples' baby carriages to check on the protection against Russia's unpredictable weather, and freely express an opinion if one seems called for.

Like virtually any aspect of life in the Soviet Union, child-bearing is a subject of interest to the state. And there is official displeasure about one aspect of giving birth: it happens too seldom.

Despite all the enthusiasm and affection that Russian parents and grandmothers throw into the raising of their first child, it is increasingly likely that the first will also be the last.

In Moscow, families with one child are the most common size. Families with three children are virtually unheard of.

"Of all my friends and acquaintances, I can think of just one with three children," a Moscow engineer observed recently. "He's an Orthodox priest."

Rural families are slightly larger, but Russia proper is approaching, and may have reached zero population growth. The major cities would now be shrinking, were it not for migration from the countryside.

The population of the Soviet Union will continue to grow, thanks to high birth rates in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. This is a source of anxiety to demographers here, though the anxiety is expressed in muted terms, for fear it might sound racist. Russians are now probably just less than half the total Soviet population, and their share of the total is shrinking.

The declining growth is the subject of much commentary in the press and professional journals, but no one has proposed a practical way to persuade Russian women to have more babies. On the contrary, the officially encouraged Soviet way of life—small apartment living, working women, generally tight family budgets—seems to be establishing the one-child family as a norm, at least for city dwellers.

The state could abolish the right to abortion on demand which helps Soviet women keep their families small, but there is no guarantee that this would have the desired effect. Stalin made most abortions illegal in 1936, resulting in a short-term rise in the birth rate, but eventually a decline. When abortion was legalized again in 1955, the birth rate did not fall.

Illegal abortion thrived during those years, and women may have taken other measures to prevent pregnancy.

Unofficial abortion—"or the left," in the Russian phrase—is still common. Many women want to avoid the humiliation of an official abortion, accompanied by lectures on the need to bring more children into the world, and marred by the discomfort by Soviet hospitals. A privately arranged abortion at home costs 30 to 50 rubles, or nearly half the monthly salary of an average working woman.



Another proposal is to improve the economic benefits to working women to encourage them to have more children. Soviet benefits now are less generous than those in some East European countries. A working mother gets two months' leave with pay to have a baby, and her job is held open for her for one year. There is no family allowance on the West European model until a fourth child is born, and then it is only four rubles a month.

The state could also expand the network of state-run nurseries and kindergartens, which now have space for about one-quarter of the country's children up to age three, and more than two-thirds between four and seven.

The prevailing opinions among experts in Moscow is that, ideally, a child should be put into a nursery, where it will usually spend an 8- to 12-hour day, at the age of three months. This releases the mothers for a quick return to the work force, and brings the child into "the collective" at an age which makes its physical and psychological adjustment the easiest.

Not surprisingly, many mothers resist this idea.

There is also no guarantee that better economic benefits and child services would increase the birth rate. In fact, there is contrary evidence. From 1960 to 1966, the number of spaces in Moscow day care centers grew by 61.5 per cent, but the birth rate fell 52 per cent.

As for increasing cash benefits to mothers, social scientists report that the government simply cannot afford it, at least for now. A small increase in allowances in a nation of 250 million would cost the state an enormous sum. But, experts say, it might not convince one mother to have another baby.

Ada Baskina, a journalist who writes about family life, suggested in an interview that "the fairest solution to this problem may be for the state to take responsibility for housework—government agencies doing the work at home." That way, she reasoned, a mother could hold her job and raise two or three children without feeling that she was a victim of life instead of a beneficiary.

This, too, is far beyond the state's present capacities for the foreseeable future. The birth rate is likely to remain constant at best, and it could decline still more.

FORMER CONGRESSMAN JOHN F. SHELLEY

## HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Jack Shelley was one of the most loved Congressmen I have served with. He had that unusual ability to command respect and enjoy the friendship of everyone including those who believed in a markedly different political philosophy. On many occasions I have been privileged to be his guest on his boat and in his home, and have enjoyed his lighthearted friendliness.

Jack was an able advocate of his sincerely held philosophy and the city of San Francisco as well as the State of California and the Nation benefited from his lifetime of public service.

A great man has passed away but his memory will always be cherished by those of us who were lucky enough to be his friends.

I extend heartfelt sympathy to his good wife Thelma and his family.

## STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 14266

## HON. ANTONIO BORJA WON PAT

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 14266, a bill relating to discriminatory and unfair competition policies in international air transportation, is of great concern to the 130,000 American citizens of Guam, as well as to the 115,000 people living in the Marianas area under the trusteeship of the United States.

Two of our largest American flag carriers are serving Guam and the Trust Territory as part of their international service routes. Pan American Airlines, the pioneer in commercial aviation, started its Pacific-Far East service with the China Clipper in 1935 and continues to serve these areas, save for the years of 1941 to 1946. Trans World Airlines joined Pan American in the trans-Pacific route service in October 1968. Continental Airlines also entered the Guam-Micronesian market in the 1960's, but its services are confined essentially to the United States-Guam-Trust Territory circuit.

Like all insular communities, Guam and Micronesia are almost entirely dependent on air and surface transportation for the movement of people and the shipment of most of their basic commodities. Over 90 percent of all consumer items and 100 percent of construction and building materials must be imported into Guam.

Unfortunately, Guam and Micronesia do not enjoy the luxury of having a railroad and trucking system as alternative transportation systems.

Thus, as one can readily see, Mr. Speaker, air and ocean-going transportation are the heart and soul of economic survival of the people who make this part of the world their home. Any minor interruption of this essential service will disrupt not only their lifelines, but, what is also intolerable, the social, educational, and political isolation that will ensue. An efficient and reliable air transportation system is inextricably linked to the economic and political survival of our territories.

Mr. Speaker, what is disturbing to me as well as to the people of our off-shore areas is the blatant discrimination and unfair practices which necessitate H.R. 14266. We, in our generosity and magnanimous gestures toward our allies and their air carriers, have put an intolerable financial burden on our own airlines and placed them at a competitive disadvantage through the following policies:

Foreign airlines are now able to obtain credit through our Import and Export Bank at a favorable interest rate. Foreign carriers are paid higher rates for the shipment of our mail.

U.S.-flag carriers are charged higher

landing fees in foreign airports; while the cost in the United States to foreign carriers is minimal.

Movements of U.S. Government and military personnel and cargoes are not restricted to American concerns.

As many Americans know, the problems I have just discussed have driven one of our Nation's foremost airlines, Pan Am, to the brink of bankruptcy. In hundreds of special advertisements placed in newspapers across the country, Pan Am employees at their own expense have done a most effective job of telling us about the problems that have led their company to the sorry economic state it now is in.

Something must be done to place Pan Am and other U.S.-flag carriers on an equal competitive footing with foreign-flag carriers. I believe that the bill now before the House, H.R. 14266, and its Senate counterpart, S. 3481, will correct the main inequities behind Pan Am's problems and help lead this company back down the road to solvency. For too long, America has permitted these inequities to exist. If we want American flag carriers to continue to circle the globe, Congress should pass these measures to provide our carriers with the protection they need.

Mr. Speaker, while I am not opposed to charity abroad, I am a firm believer that charity should begin at home. Moreover, generosity should be a two-way street in that some reciprocal arrangements should be made whereby our flag carriers are not discriminated against abroad.

I urge my colleagues to support the enactment of this important piece of legislation.

Thank you.

## THE GREAT SPACE TECHNOLOGY GRAB CONTINUES

## HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, under the guise of United States-U.S.S.R. cooperation in space, the Soviets continue to learn of and take advantage of our superior technology in that field. While various Russians swarm all over our space facilities, our people are allowed very little access to Soviet installations. Business Week of September 28, 1974, recently pointed out another instance in which the Soviet Union will benefit from this so-called "cooperation in space." The item follows:

### U.S. SPACE GEAR FOR RUSSIA'S SOYUZ

The Soviet Soyuz spacecraft that will be used for next July's docking with a U.S. Apollo vehicle will carry built-in insurance against failure of the rendezvous. After watching Soviet problems with their own docking attempts, U.S. officials insisted that the ROA system that worked so well in the lunar landing and Skylab programs be used in the joint mission.

Three sets of the \$300,000 passive radar system that will be installed in the Soyuz

already have been shipped to Russia. Officials are not worried about giving away any secrets: the active part of the system, which does most of the work, will be installed on the Apollo.

# THE ROOSEVELT WHITE HOUSE

## HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, last June the Washington Post ran a series of articles written by men who had served as assistants to recent Presidents. Judge Marvin Jones, a distinguished former member of the House of Representatives from Texas, Administrator of the U.S. War Food Administration, and an eminent jurist who served as chief judge of the U.S. Court of Claims, recently brought to my attention the article by James Rowe on President Roosevelt. The article is an excellent one, particularly as it provides a unique insight into the way one powerful President ran the White House.

The article follows:

F.D.R.: "HE KNEW HOW TO BE PRESIDENT"

It is fashionable today to say the problems of the '30s and '40s were essentially simpler than those that face us now, and it may even be true. But perspective should also persuade us that those same problems were far more serious than those of today and, in some respects, anyway, even more difficult to solve. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had to cope first with the Great Depression and then with World War II. It is a matter of faith among his advocates that he did so magnificently. In general the historians seem to agree.

President Roosevelt presided over his small White House staff, no swollen bureaucracy in those days, with infinite charm and an encompassing friendliness. We called him "The Boss" when we spoke to each other, but to his face it was always "Mr. President" or occasionally, "Sir."

The explanation of why FDR was our only four-term President (and, some think, our best) was that he knew how to be President. That connoisseur of Presidents, Professor Richard Neustadt of Harvard, has written that this quality was FDR's most outstanding characteristic. Neustadt, himself a practicing White House staff man with Truman, Kennedy and Johnson, and a close academic student of the other modern Presidencies, once said of Roosevelt:

"No President in this century has had a sharper sense of personal power, a sense of what it is and where it comes from; none has had more hunger for it, few have had more use for it, and only one of two could match his faith in his own competence to use it . . . No modern President has been more nearly master in the White House . . . Roosevelt had a love affair with power in that place. It was an early romance and it lasted all his life.

... Once he became the President of the United States that sense of fitness gave him an extraordinary confidence. Roosevelt, almost alone among our Presidents, had no conception of the office to live up to, he was it. His image of the office was himself-in-office. The memoirs left by his associates agree on this if nothing else; he saw the job of being President as being FDR."

This writer was an appallingly young, overly confident Administrative Assistant to the President. I was, one day, directed by FDR to find a way to shift an able but somewhat troublesome government servant from

one agency to another without causing too much trouble in either place. In due course my recommendation was reported back to the President who agreed the shift should be made but thought he would do it in a different way from that which his assistant recommended. I remember arguing, perhaps too vehemently, that my way of doing it was better than his and would cause much less trouble in the bureaucracy. And finally I said "Mr. President, you should do it my way and not yours."

He replied with a beaming smile, "No, James, I do not have to do it your way and I will tell you the reason why. The reason is that, although they may have made a mistake, the people of the United States elected me President, not you." To which the only possible answer was a very quick "Yes, sir!"

FDR believed the way to run the New Deal was by competitive administration and not by the use of orderly channels. The White House was an open place, and access to the President by staff, Cabinet and Congress was relatively easy to gain, at least until Pearl Harbor when the grinding pressures of World War II forced him to become Commander-in-Chief. He felt he learned more about what he should do on various public issues from the public battles and clashes of his Cabinet officers and the bureaucrats who then as now, would find their way on to the front pages. He received all sorts of information through his own channels from all sorts of people all over the country and the world, not least of whom was Eleanor Roosevelt. He always seemed to have acquired more knowledge about any issue than his staff had.

Roosevelt was the creator of the modern Presidency. President Hoover, for instance, had one or at most two secretaries. With the expert help of the great Louis Brownlow and with legislative authority from the Congress Roosevelt fashioned the Executive Office of the President. The Executive Office he deliberately kept separate from his personal White House staff. He also received authority to add the "assistants with a passion for anonymity" as part of his personal staff and this writer was one.

FDR drew a sharp line between the President and the Presidency. The Executive Office, which consisted of the Budget Bureau and several other staff agencies, was to serve the institution of the Presidency, whoever might be the incumbent and thus it would furnish continuity. It was not to worry about politics. While it was vastly interested in the merits and costs of legislation, the Executive Office never indulged in negotiations or compromises on such legislation. The White House staff, on the other hand, was to serve and protect FDR himself.

The President had rather definite ideas about keeping his White House staff small and shunting much of the hard policy work out of the White House to the departments and agencies. He once told Miss Frances Perkins, perhaps the best Secretary of Labor the country ever had, "Fanny, keep that steel strike down in your department, at least until 10 minutes before you have a settlement and then you can bring it here and I will take credit for it!"

Occasionally when he wanted to keep his own strong hand on his "must" legislation he would field his own drafting and lobbying teams, such as Tommy Corcoran and Ben Cohen on financial legislation, backstopped by scores of bright young lawyers around the town who were somewhat derisively nicknamed the "Happy Hot Dogs" (after Felix Frankfurter who had recruited them for Washington service). While technically not on the White House staff, the Corcoran-Cohen team was called in on almost all important matters.

At one time, a Cabinet officer mistakenly thought this writer was keeping him from access to the President and so complained.

FDR told me, "If you even give the appearance of blocking off Cabinet officers from me you will need to get another job!" And once he saw my name mentioned in the papers as attending one or two parties, he told me I was not working hard enough and if I kept getting my name in the society columns I would be looking for another job. Later when I was working day and night and felt exhausted I told him I needed at least one assistant. He said: "If you need an assistant you aren't doing the job the way I want you to do it!"

Actually he ruled the White House by undiluted charm. No one, particularly members of his own staff, could resist him. I remember a newly elected congressman named Mike Mansfield returning from a stag party FDR had given that night for first-term congressmen telling his wife, Maureen, that he had been prepared, from everything he had read about him, to resist the famous Roosevelt charm. "But," said Mansfield, "he is irresistible." "The Boss" could be, and often was, strictly cold business with plenty of steel. Yet if he had a few minutes of free time he was easily the best conversationalist of this century, with the possible exception of Winston Churchill.

His language was stylish and good but hardly Anglo-Saxon. I cannot remember ever hearing him swear. Grace Tully, his famous secretary, has said he might occasionally utter a "damn" or so in a fairly large meeting while she happened to be taking notes. Invariably, he would turn to Grace and apologize: "Sorry, Grace, I forgot you were here." Evidently, fashions do change.

His one touchstone, his standard, was his country. He seemed prepared to do anything required to advance the public welfare. During the years of preparation for World War II and when the United States was, in one of his immortal phrases, "The Arsenal of Democracy" John Lewis pulled his coal miners out on strike, nearly paralyzing the nation and causing considerable injury to the Allies fighting Hitler. FDR denounced him. There was bitterness everywhere. One day, several weeks after the strike began, I was called into the President's office on an unrelated matter. Just as I walked in he was hanging up the phone and, turning to me with a pleased smile, he said "James I'll bet you can't guess who I was talking to." It had been Lewis. I said "Mr. President, I hope you told the blankety-blank to go to hell." He replied, "I did nothing of the sort. I have been making peace with him. I have to have that coal, and I'll tell you a secret. I am willing to crawl over to his office on my hands and knees to get it, because the country has to have it." A day or so later the strike was over.

FDR, the first of the modern Presidents, is long gone. But those of us who served him could well borrow from a famous quotation by Mr. Justice Holmes, uttered in another connection:

"Through our great good fortune, in our youth our hearts were touched with fire. It was given to us to learn at the outset that life is a profound and passionate thing."

# SUPPORT FOR RECOMPUTATION

## HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have today submitted testimony to the House Armed Services Committee's Subcommittee on Military Compensation, strongly supporting legislation to pro-



vide a recomputation of retired military pay.

We are all aware of the inequities which have existed in retired pay since the 1958 change to a cost of living computation basis. I have introduced legislation in the last two Congresses to return retired pay computation to the pre-1958 system, and I have also strongly supported the "one-shot" recomputation which has twice been approved by the Senate.

Therefore, I am happy that the House Armed Services Committee is reopening its hearings into this matter, and I sincerely hope that a legislative solution to this problem will be forthcoming. Following are the recommendations which I set forth in my own testimony:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE C. W. BILL YOUNG, OF FLORIDA, CONCERNING RETIRED MILITARY PAY, OCTOBER 8, 1974

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate being given this opportunity to go on record once again as being in strong support of the principle of recomputation of retired military pay.

On the opening day of the 93rd Congress, I reintroduced my bill for continuing recomputation as H.R. 221, the Uniformed Services Retirement Pay Equalization Act. H.R. 221 calls for a return to the former program of equalizing retirement pay with the pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service.

The principle of recomputing retired military personnel pay based on active duty pay was incorporated in the American military retired pay system from the time of the Civil War until 1958—more than 90 years. All military personnel who served before June 1, 1958 did so with the expectation that this system would continue to be followed, and it is quite likely that the recomputation feature of the retirement system was largely responsible for the decision of many to make the military their career. Although there was no signed contract with the U.S. government promising that this system would be continued after service was completed, there certainly was a moral obligation on the part of the government not to reduce the entitlement after it was earned.

However, in 1958 Congress abandoned this recomputation program in favor of one tied to increases in the cost of living. I personally feel it was a breach of faith to change this system, and indeed, during the years since 1958 many attempts have been made to justify the government's abrogation of its moral responsibility. In spite of these attempts, the fact remains that those who entered careers in the uniformed services before June 1, 1958, served under a guaranteed formula providing that their retired pay would be a percentage of current active duty pay. But the post-1958 retirees faced an entirely different situation. While active duty pay has increased by 108.1 percent since 1958, the average retiree's pay has increased by 53.6 percent. A tremendous gap in retired pay has thus grown between retirees of the same grade and years of service. The inequality will continue to widen unless Congress restores the traditional system of computing retired pay on the basis of current active duty rates.

Even more pressing a problem, however, is the fact that the new method of recomputation has not been adequate to keep retired pay on a par with the soaring cost of living. Like many others trying to live on a fixed income, our retired military personnel have been hard-hit by inflation. These people have devoted many, many years of service to their country, often at great personal sacrifice.

I am aware that there have been strong objections raised against H.R. 221, and similar bills, primarily on the basis of long-term

cost. In an effort to compromise with these objections, and to achieve some form of relief for our military retirees, I have introduced H.R. 14082, providing for a one-time recomputation of military retired pay, based on the rates of pay in effect on January 1, 1972. Any future increases in retired pay would be based on the Consumer Price Index. Eligibility for this "one-shot" recomputation would be as follows:

1) Immediate recomputation for disability retirees with a rating of 30 percent or more;

2) Immediate recomputation for military retirees who are 60 years of age or older;

3) Recomputation upon reaching age 60 for present retirees, based on the January 1, 1972, pay scales with any subsequent cost-of-living raises;

4) Pre-1949 disability retirees would have the option to remain under the current retirement laws or to come under the new recomputation legislation, at their actual degree of disability. The Senate has twice adopted the content of this bill, only to have it dropped from the legislation in Conference. It is a good and workable compromise for our retirees—it is reasonable in cost, it pays the retiree when he needs it most—at age 60—and it makes partial restitution for the government's breach of faith in 1958. As I am sure you are aware, this compromise legislation has the backing of the major military organizations—both active duty and retired—as a workable and final resolution of the recomputation question.

I sincerely hope that this Subcommittee will give its approval to a recomputation measure in a timely manner, so that we may act on it in the whole House later this Fall. As the cost of living spirals ever upward and as active duty military pay continues to rise, the military retiree finds himself in an ever more inequitable situation. Fourteen years is long enough for this injustice to continue. Let us act now on recomputation and honor that moral obligation which we have to millions of men and women who served their country long and honorably.

#### POLITICAL REPRESSION SAVAGE IN CUBA

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker I want to take this opportunity to voice my apprehensions to the recent renewal of attempts to establish relations with Cuba by the American Government. Thousands of Americans share a similar concern.

Maybe other Americans have forgotten why the Cuban-Americans left their homeland more than 10 years ago to come to this country but we in Florida live with the reminder each day. The Cubans who left their homes did so because they could not live 1 more day under the regime of Fidel Castro.

That was more than 10 years ago when these conditions in Cuba were so unlivable, but we are reminded; very graphically, by Jack Anderson's column of September 7, that these conditions have not changed at all since then. And it is evident, especially in the light of his actions last week, that Cuba's dictator—Fidel Castro—has not changed either.

Not only is Castro still unpopular with the people he rules, he is at the very least a hypocrite. We saw him last welcoming two U.S. Senators on the one

hand and delivering a blistering anti-American speech on the other hand. His speech and behavior reminded me of the way he was in the early 1960's when America was forced to break diplomatic ties with his country.

I urge my colleagues to read this column:

#### POLITICAL REPRESSION SAVAGE IN CUBA

(By Jack Anderson)

A less bombastic Fidel Castro is now in his best behavior, as he strives to bring Cuba into the society of Western Hemisphere nations. But hidden from the prominent visitors he has enticed to Cuba is an unspeakable world of political oppression.

We have written about the terror and torture in the prisons of Brazil's right-wing dictatorship. Now we have received evidence of similar tactics in the prisons of Cuba's left-wing dictatorship.

Just as Brazilian political prisoners smuggled their stark stories to us through priests, Castro's prisoners have managed to smuggle letters, affidavits and other evidence to the United States with directions that they be delivered to us.

We have checked out their charges, as best we could, with former prisoners who have been released from Castro's custody. We are willing to make a personal inspection of these prisoners, if Castro will permit it, as we also offered to do in Brazil.

The letters and affidavits describe a horror which, for the unhappy souls who run afoul of Castro's political police, usually begins with a frightening, aftermidnight arrest.

"You and your family are all fast asleep," states one affidavit, "when the tremendous knocking at your front and back doors starts. About six or seven G-2 men, armed to the teeth with Russian machine guns, rush in your house, screaming, pushing your family, searching your home, not allowing your wife or children to go to the bedroom to put their clothes on.

"They insult you with every filthy name in the book. Finally they push you outside, with your family crying, and put you into a G-2 car."

The victim is hustled to G-2 headquarters where, according to the affidavit, "you are taken into a small room, have all your clothes taken away from you, searched even within your body, then given a pair of mechanic overalls without sleeves."

The interrogation takes place in a small office. "The officers all put their guns on the table in front of you to scare you," recounts the affidavit. "Then the questioning begins, with insults, the threats, the false accusations, where everybody is accused of being the CIA."

If the prisoner doesn't give the answers they want, he is held alternately in overheated and frigid cells. "The heat is so bad, you faint. And then you are brought in a special cell that has air conditioning so cold you freeze. All this to make you talk."

The prisoners are permitted to see their families once a week. "You are shaved by a gorilla, without shaving cream, then taken to a small room, all bugged, with your investigator sitting next to you, and are given six or seven minutes with your family, after your family has been given a lecture to tell you to confess."

The letters and affidavits describe the food in Cuban prisons as scarcely enough for survival. At LaCubana Fortress prison, 160 men were crowded into galleries without windows, nothing but an iron grille at the end. It was so hot in the summer that the prisoners couldn't bear to wear clothes. When it rained, the water washed into the living quarters.

"At one time," states an affidavit, "we were not allowed to have water to shower for 23 days." Another describes the hour in the sun which the prisoners were permitted once a month.

"But we had to run in double time. All the time we were running, we were being hit by the guards with clubs, bayonets and iron sticks. Then down again into the hole, again being hit by the guards."

Most of all, the prisoners dreaded the "riquisa," as the cell searches were called. "The guards come into your gallery after midnight," according to one account, "and line you up outside or against the wall. They start to throw everything you own outside and douse water all over your bed, which normally is thrown from one end of the gallery to the other."

"You also get beat up. When you are taken outside, nude, the militancas [women guards] stand in the patio and laugh at your nakedness."

At the Isle of Pines prison, the prisoners were welcomed off the ferry boat by "guards on both sides of the gangplank, hitting us as we passed by them, and I mean hitting with clubs and sticking us with their bayonets, just for fun I guess," states one letter.

The prisoners at the Isle of Pines got up at 5 a.m. and worked until 6 p.m. "cutting weeds, planting trees, picking fruit." "God forbid," reported one former prisoner, "if they should catch you eating a piece of fruit. The guards would make mincemeat out of you with their bayonets."

The prisoners were subjected to daily beatings, according to the smuggled documents. "There was seldom a month in the island when they did not kill one or two prisoners in the work camp, or cut them up, crippling them, or something," charges an affidavit.

The documents give detailed descriptions of the prisons, enclose typical menus and name some of the most brutal guards. One prisoner, risking almost certain retaliation, has asked us to tell his personal story. This will be published in a future column.

#### REPORT ON WORLD FOOD CRISIS TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, last month our distinguished colleague, CHARLES W. WHALEN, Jr., as Chairman of the Emerging Nations Committee of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, submitted a report on the world food crisis. The seriousness of this crisis for the people of the United States was underlined this week by the action of President Ford in imposing informal controls over the exports of large quantities of grain to the Soviet Union and other countries.

I am sure most Americans would agree that such controls are long overdue. This is not to say that the United States can ignore conditions outside of our borders but rather that we have an obligation not only to see that the food needs of our own people are met but that, so far as possible, we develop a rational program for helping to meet the truly desperate food needs of people in other parts of the world.

In determining what such a program should be, the Congress has a crucial responsibility. Mr. WHALEN's report brings out the key facts which all Members will find useful in evaluating various measures relating to the food crisis.

Most important is what Mr. WHALEN refers to as "the accelerating interdependence of the globe."

Mr. WHALEN's report outlines the grim facts, the political factors, actions being taken already to meet the situation, and what Congress can do.

As Chairman of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, I am pleased to have this opportunity to offer Mr. WHALEN's report for the RECORD following these remarks:

#### MEMORANDUM

#### MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

#### FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW,

Washington, D.C., September 11, 1974.

To: All Members of MCPL.

From: Congressman CHARLES W. WHALEN, Jr., Chairman, Emerging Nations Committee.

Re: The World Food Crisis.

As all of you are aware, severe strains upon the world food supply are leading us in the direction of a major international crisis. Because of the pressing need to deal urgently and effectively with this complex issue, I am issuing the following Summary Report for your information and in conjunction with the present series of Hearings being conducted jointly by the Subcommittees on International Organizations and Movements and Foreign Economic Policy of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

#### BACKGROUND

Nearly 200 years ago Malthus developed his well-known theory that world population growth would be held in check by the limits of the earth's natural ability to feed its people.

Science and technology have modified Malthusian theory by expanding natural yields through the use of fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation and numerous other techniques. Until quite recently, these improvements and good weather enabled food production to keep pace with the planet's 2% annual population increment and, particularly in the North American region, created large surpluses.

These surpluses have served as the backbone of U.S. agricultural policy. Their presence in the grain elevators of the Mid-West, along with the idling of thousands of acres of cropland, assured stable prices and adequate stocks to meet any production shortfalls. These domestic buffers remained large enough for commercial exports to rise substantially and to provide for concessional and humanitarian grants of food aid (PL 480) to other countries unable to feed their people.

#### THE GRIM PRESENT

Like supplies of energy and other increasingly scarce natural resources, however, the days of surplus food appear to be over. With their passing, food policies based upon unlimited abundance have come unstuck and better management of the earth's dwindling common heritage is demanded.

The factors involved in this radical swing from glut to deficit hang together like magnetic fragments and their assessment is a sobering lesson on the accelerating interdependence of the globe. These factors include:

**Population.** Next year there will be 4 billion people on earth. Although the total annual population growth rate hovers around 2%, increases in the developing countries are frequently in excess of 3%. At this rate, population growth results in a 19-fold addition within a century. Since this rate is impossible to sustain, man must clearly adjust his reproductive behavior to the dimensions of a finite planet.

**Rising Affluence.** More difficult to measure than population growth, this reflects the growing numbers of people whose recently acquired wealth permit and encourage com-

plex, meat-based diets. These diets consume enormous amounts of agricultural resources. For example, the average per capita grain consumption in India is 380 pounds per year, while the U.S. 1972 per capita intake was 1,850 pounds and the USSR's 1,450 pounds.

Too, affluence makes consumer demand more income-sensitive and effectively excludes through the price mechanism those who can't afford higher price levels. The consequence is that those who don't have, can't get. While this is made obvious in open market bidding for scarce supplies, the impact of high prices also results in a diminishing of the amounts of food previously available for humanitarian assistance purposes (including concessional foreign sales). Thus, U.S. food aid this past year was only 40% of its volume two years ago, while commercial exports expanded from \$13 billion to \$20 billion. 90% of this increase resulted from higher prices.

Clearly, when pitted against the rising food demands of the increasingly affluent in Japan, Western Europe, the USSR and North America, the poor come last regardless of their desperate needs. Though comprehensible economically, in human terms this means that nearly 1 billion people are denied their basic physical development through malnutrition and even starvation while the more affluent indulge in consumption excesses far beyond—and debilitating to—health requirements. With the likely prevalence of long-term shortages, this means that millions will be unable to obtain minimum food requirements. In this situation, then, excessive consumption must be curtailed.

**Levels of existing stocks and current prospects for replenishment.** At their lowest levels since World War II, world food reserves are estimated now at 26 days of global consumption—a decline from 36 days one year ago and from 90 days in 1970. They continue to fall. Moreover, for the first time in 20 years, all idle cropland in the U.S. has been put under the plow, leaving no further acreage for more food output.

Because of the decision to plant "fence to fence" in the U.S., agricultural officials predicted record harvests this crop year—just as good weather augured well for the Soviet Union and the Indian Subcontinent. Such optimism was unfounded, however, as adverse weather has created shortages in all three regions. Resultant crop failures in corn, wheat and soybeans has reduced U.S. production by more than 25% and world-wide grain production is now 22 million tons lower than last year. The overall effect of these shortages is that less food will be available to meet ever-growing demands.

Compounding the supply and replenishment prospects is a fourth factor—worldwide shortages of fertilizer, energy, water and land, the four major resources essential to food production. Although the interrelationships among these elements are all crucial, fertilizer is the key link in the food production chain. For example, to increase yields 1%, an increase of 3.5% of fertilizer is required. This means that for developing countries to raise their agricultural output by 4% annually in the 1970s—a modest projection—their fertilizer use will have to climb by nearly 14%. This would be 4.6% higher than levels in recent years.

But virtually all estimates for the current crop year indicate that the developing countries will suffer a fertilizer shortfall of about 2 million tons. This represents roughly 16-20 million tons of grain, or the normal consumption of nearly 100 million people in developing countries. Americans will use more than this amount of fertilizer for their lawns, cemeteries and golf courses in the coming year.

Moreover, from a cost perspective, each dollar's worth of fertilizer that food importing countries are unable to obtain now will require five dollars' worth of high-priced food



imports a year from now, according to the Overseas Development Council. Thus the present shortage will cost developing countries nearly \$5 billion in scarce foreign exchange in addition to their estimated \$10-15 billion oil bills.

The net effect of such factors as population growth, rising affluence, poor climate and the energy-fertilizer shortages has been to accelerate world food demand at unprecedented rates. The annual growth in global demand has leaped from 12 million tons in 1950 to more than 30 million tons in 1970, and it continues unabated.

This demand has sent the prices of agricultural products soaring. Although good news for the American farmer, the doubling of world prices for wheat, rice, corn and soybeans has imposed terrible hardships on the nutritional well-being of the planet's poorest inhabitants.

#### THE POLITICS OF SCARCITY

There is an element of diminishing returns, however, which even astronomical prices can not buy. This involves the increasingly tight supply situation and its ramifications in the existing international inflation. Simply stated, to guarantee domestic price stability and adequate food supplies, a number of individual food exporting nations have resorted to unilateral commodity embargoes. Actions such as last year's soybean embargo by the U.S.—the source of 85% of all soybeans entering the world market—threatened the lives of nearly a billion people in East Asia for whom this commodity is a principal protein staple. Similarly, Thailand clamped export controls on rice and wreaked havoc on food prices throughout Southeast Asia; and Brazil has imposed export restrictions on both soybeans and beef.

These events form a pattern of political and economic behavior which Lester Brown, an agricultural specialist and Senior Fellow at The Overseas Development Council, has termed "a new phenomenon: a global politics of scarcity." In effect, this amounts to the U.S. wielding its "grain weapon" in a manner similar to the OPEC countries' use of oil. Unless dealt with rationally, the subsequent ugly reaction to high prices and shortages may deteriorate into a 1930s-like environment, with the international cooperation sorely needed to resolve these conditions undermined by a myopic panic that leads ineluctably to widespread political violence.

#### WHAT IS BEING DONE

Somber and gloomy as the food supply and production situation may be, a number of steps are being taken. The problems emerging from the food crisis are widely recognized as extremely serious and much attention is being devoted to practical proposals aimed at improving matters. Examples include:

(1) The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has suggested an international system of food reserves, as well as an improved crop reporting and warning system, and long-term development of food production within developing countries;

(2) In his maiden UN speech last April, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger stressed the importance of an international effort to deal with the developing food crisis and proposed a World Food Conference. This Conference will meet in Rome in November and will assess the world food situation, examine national and international programs of action, discuss measures for increasing food production in the developing countries, propose policies for improving consumption patterns in all countries, strengthen world food security through a better early warning and food information system and more effective national and international stockholding policies, develop measures in the area of international trade relevant to the food problem and arrange appropriate operational machinery to enact these policies;

(3) The UN Secretary-General, following up on the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly (April-May 1974), appealed to 44 nations—including the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)—to contribute to an emergency relief fund to aid the most seriously affected developing economies. Although approximately \$2 billion has been raised for this Special Fund, the U.S. has yet to contribute;

(4) With specific regard to the fertilizer shortage, the FAO authorized in July the establishment of an international fertilizer supply scheme to aid developing countries in dire need. The plan calls for a fertilizer pool, an improved information system and assistance from FAO in mobilizing financial resources;

(5) Within the United States, citizen groups have been organized into a national coalition to inform the public about the world food situation and to bring pressure upon Congress and the Government to formulate effective food policies that will meet present shortages and long-term demands; and

(6) World Food Action Resolutions have been introduced into Congress by Senator Humphrey and Congressman Culver. Senate Resolution 329 and House Resolution 1155 have more than 120 Members of Congress as cosponsors, and urge the following:

(a) A return to 1972 commodity assistance levels, which have fallen 66% in the past two years;

(b) Increased U.S. aid to the agricultural development of developing economies, where food output may be raised much more cheaply than in the more developed countries and thus is much less inflationary;

(c) An increased U.S. pledge to the UN's World Food Program and greater U.S. participation in other multilateral development programs; and

(d) Reduced American use of scarce fertilizers for non food producing purposes, such as lawns, golf courses, etc.

#### WHAT CONGRESS CAN DO

While all of these activities deserve the most vigorous Congressional support, some are ripe for legislative action:

(1) Passage of the Humphrey-Culver resolutions, in particular, will indicate to the rest of the world American willingness to take the lead in the cooperative action necessary for addressing the food crisis;

(2) Congress can press ahead to provide U.S. funding for emergency relief to the most seriously affected developing economies, as proposed by both Secretary of State Kissinger and UN Secretary-General Waldheim. In order not to compound the already heavy debt burden of the poor countries, such assistance must be highly concessional if not outright grant aid. This would be a substantial follow up which these poor countries need, as would legislation limiting the non-food producing uses of scarce fertilizer. The latter, especially, would be a signal of a wealthy nation's willingness to limit its fringe comforts in order that millions may have enough to eat; and

(3) Beyond these legislative areas, Congress can continue to inform itself of the complex dimensions of the world food crisis. Ambassador Edward Martin, Coordinator of the U.S. delegation to the World Food Conference, has made himself and his group's analyses readily available to Members of Congress. Too, innumerable local efforts are actively seeking Members' participation so that constituency concern for the food crisis can be strongly articulated. These unofficial and voluntary organizations are invaluable sources of essential views and have provided the sustained catalyst critical to popular understanding of what the food crisis means to them as citizens of their respective communities and as citizens of the earth.

The food crisis, the energy crisis, restricted international access to commodities, ramp-

ant and poorly understood global inflation—these are all signals of a need to revamp the existing international economic system. They especially illuminate the growing importance of the human and material resources, and needs, of the developing nations as a matter of mutual interest and as a necessity for genuine global security. Congress has demonstrated both its sensitivity and its understanding of these complex, interdependent issues with its passage of legislation to provide Emergency Disaster Relief and for U.S. participation in the International Development Association. Food presents one more opportunity for Congress to act decisively and humanely in an area vital to foreign policy considerations. With the earth's survival increasingly bound-up in the inter-relationship of its economies, the world food crisis demonstrates the urgent need for cooperation among all nations.

#### PHILADELPHIA GETS COMPREHENSIVE CANCER CENTER

#### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, Philadelphia moved up to the front rank of the Nation's war on cancer today when the cancer programs at the Fox Chase Cancer Center and at the University of Pennsylvania together were designated a Comprehensive Cancer Center by Dr. Frank J. Rauscher, Jr., Director of the National Cancer Institute in Washington.

The National Cancer Act of 1971 mandated a number of such centers across the country, which will be key points in a national network to conduct research and to transform information about cancer into greater treatment capability and effort. With today's announcement there are now seventeen such centers under development.

G. Morris Dorrance, Jr., chairman, and Dr. Timothy R. Talbot, Jr., president of the Fox Chase Cancer Center, said following today's announcement:

We are honored that the National Cancer Institute has designated the programs at the University of Pennsylvania and at the Fox Chase Cancer Center as a Comprehensive Cancer Center. The Cancer Center at Fox Chase was formed in 1974 to coordinate the activities of the American Oncologic Hospital and The Institute for Cancer Research. Each of these institutions has been a leader in its field for many years—the Institute for nearly fifty, the hospital for seventy. Today's announcement recognizes this, as well as the ability, dedication and effort of our people.

Dr. Thomas W. Langfitt, vice president for health affairs at the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Peter C. Nowell, director of the University of Pennsylvania Cancer Center, said:

We are pleased to join forces with the Fox Chase Cancer Center in this effort. Coordination of the cancer-related activities on both campuses will enable us to play a more effective role in the National Cancer Program.

They explained that while one component of the Fox Chase Center, the Institute for Cancer Research, has had an affiliation with the university since 1962, a new agreement would be drawn up to

include the American Oncologic Hospital and provide for a committee to coordinate all of the cancer activities of the Fox Chase Center and the university.

Many Fox Chase scientists and physicians hold faculty appointments at the university. The Fox Chase Cancer Center, in turn, provides educational opportunities for medical students and residents of the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania. In addition, both the Fox Chase Center and the University of Pennsylvania have collaborative relationships with other institutions in the Philadelphia area. These arrangements should provide the basis for the development of a regional program to serve a large segment of the greater Philadelphia area.

While the new comprehensive cancer center will expand its medical education and training programs, a major emphasis will also be on research—particularly clinical research, because most of our knowledge about cancer is still at a frontier of the unknown. Increased effort will also be devoted toward development of community outreach programs, assisting physicians and the public in the role that each must play if cancer is to be controlled. This will be done through community programs involving active participation by members of the medical professions in the communities involved. Typical of such programs is the Breast Cancer Control Network for Trenton, N.J., which the Fox Chase Center announced last week.

#### QUESTIONNAIRE ON CAMPAIGN FINANCING

**HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, I have just completed compiling the results of a recent questionnaire to my constituents in the 35th Congressional District of California. This questionnaire dealt with a specific issue, campaign reform. I believe that my colleagues may find the results of interest to them. Particularly the questions concerning the public financing of Presidential campaigns in which 52 percent opposed it and public financing of all Federal offices in which 69 percent opposed it. The questions and responses are:

A campaign expenditure bill will be reaching the House Floor soon. Its major provisions include:

1. A limit of \$1,000 per election on contributions by any person to a candidate for Federal office (there is no limit now).

2. A limit of \$25,000 which one individual may make to all candidates for Federal office combined, in any one year (there is no limit now).

3. A limit of \$25,000 per election which any candidate may spend from his personal funds, (this is now in effect).

4. A limit of \$20 million for the overall expenditure of a Presidential candidate in the General election (no limit now, each party spent approximately \$50 million in 1972).

5. A limit of \$10 million for the overall expenditure of a Presidential candidate in the Primaries (there is no limit now).

6. A limit of \$75,000 per election which any candidate for U.S. House of Representatives may spend for each, the Primary and General election (no limit now in effect).

7. Provides for Public Financing of Presidential campaigns.

8. Sets up an independent authority to administer the campaign laws and a separate Assistant Attorney General to enforce them.

Check which of the following agrees with your opinion:

[In percent]					
Item No.	Support it	Oppose it	Raise limit	Lower limit	No opinion
1.....	59	11	4	23	2
2.....	52	12	1	34	5
3.....	67	6	2	20	2
4.....	47	10	6	35	3
5.....	48	7	2	40	2
6.....	54	11	2	31	4
7.....	44	52			7
8.....	65	28			

Do you believe presidential elections should be financed solely from the present \$1 checkoff on income tax? Yes%. No 60%.

Do you believe Public Financing should be extended to all Federal offices? Yes 31%. No 69%.

Do you believe all currency contributions over \$10 should be prohibited? Yes 68%. No 32%.

Do you believe candidates who obtain loans for campaign purposes should make full disclosure as to the source of the money borrowed? Yes 95%. No 5%.

Do you believe the campaign period should be shortened? Yes 87%. No 13%.

#### AMNESTY

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an important point about how we decided who would serve in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Vietnam war era is often forgotten. But the fact that we did not choose men fairly, or as Alfred B. Fitt writes in his "Amnesty," the New York Times magazine, September 8, 1974, "We really did not choose them at all," ought to be central to the debate surrounding the future of those who resisted the draft and deserted the Armed Forces. Mr. Fitt quotes James Reston on the draft:

A system whereby poor boys are selected to go to Vietnam and rich boys are selected to go to college.

At any rate, Mr. Fitt's essay was written before President Ford announced his policy on reconciliation. Fitt's proposal contains no requirement for public service. In other respects, it parallels the President's proposal. I am not satisfied with the President's plan and I have questions about Fitt's proposal. But the Fitts article presents some facts that tend to be obscured in the debate and I think it should be reprinted in the RECORD for this reason.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times Magazine, Sept. 8, 1974]

#### AMNESTY

(By Alfred B. Fitt) \*

"We of the American Legion firmly believe that giving any wholesale amnesty, whether conditional or unconditional, would make a mockery of the sacrifices of those men who did their duty"—James F. O'Neill, Past National Commander.

"My son was killed four years ago in Vietnam by our own artillery . . . If I am to receive any comfort from my son's death, then let me believe that he died so that some other mother's son, somewhere, might now come home"—Peg Mullen, Iowa farmwife.

"Resolved, That our Department of Justice refuse deserters entry and declare them guilty of treason"—Veterans of World War I, Dept. of Oklahoma.

"I'm not a draft evader; I'm a runaway slave. I left because I was not going to fight white America's war"—an anonymous black in Canada.

"Vietnam may or may not have been a rich man's war, but it was a poor boy's fight. . . . My position is, every American can expect his fair day in court, and should expect nothing more or settle for anything less"—F. P. Jones, Colonel U.S.A. (ret).

"My son was killed at Cu Chi, 2 days before his 19th birthday . . . The granting of a universal, unconditional amnesty would be a living memorial to all the young dead soldiers who leave us the task of giving meaning to their deaths"—Patricia Simon, Massachusetts housewife.

"I am throwing the weight of my Presidency into the scales of justice on the side of leniency. . . . I reject amnesty and I reject revenge"—President Gerald R. Ford.

All wars have tragic aftermaths. What can one say to—that can one do for—the parents and the wives and the children of the men still listed as missing in action in Indochina? We are helpless. But what of the men who ran away, who dodged the draft or deserted the armed forces? They are underground or have fled their own country altogether; in either case, they are exiles. As to them, we are not helpless, nor are they. The exiles can return, if they wish, but to what welcome?

Decent and thoughtful Americans differ passionately on the nature of the welcome. Some old soldiers in Oklahoma want to bar any return. Some of the exiles insist that the question is not whether they are to be forgiven but whether they are willing to forgive America. In between the extremes is every degree of severity, every degree of compassion. It is heartening that the Ford Administration has taken the side of compassion. Nevertheless, our society has no consensus on this tormenting question. Perhaps the answer would be easier if we could tell ourselves that those chosen for the slaughter in Vietnam were fairly chosen, so that those who ran away will not be heard to complain now. But the fact is, we did not choose men fairly. We really did not choose them at all. Instead, we handed out deferments and then, from the big pool of men in their 20's who qualified for no deferment, we simply inducted as many as were needed, oldest man first. The deferment system was not the product of coherent and coordinated thought. Instead, it was the accidental sum of unrelated decisions, each with an inde-

\*Alfred B. Fitt was an Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Johnson Administration. He says, "Although current considerations surrounding amnesty are rooted in those years, it was, ironically, a question that simply did not come up at that time; during a war, all you think about is the immediate task at hand. But I have thought much about it since."



pendent justification. No one in the period before the Tonkin Gulf Resolution thought to ask whether the over-all consequence of the draft was equity, and the result was a system which was notably unfair.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in 1963 married men were exempted from the draft not because to induct them would cause particular hardship, but because the Army wanted to lower the average age of draftees—college students were exempt because the education of the populace was desirable. Graduate students were exempt because our budding scientists were needed for post-Sputnik research. Reservists and National Guardsmen were exempt because in no other way could the reserve forces be kept up to strength. Men in "critical occupations" were exempt because it made no sense to draft the only pharmacist in town when any number of street corner idlers were available to go. And finally, the stupid and the slow and the asthmatics and the weak and the fat and the gay were exempt because the armed forces did not want them. What could have been more sensible?

The Selective Service System was a rickety, folksy mechanism which had worked reasonably well and without major scandal when virtually all physically qualified young men were called into the military or when no one was being shot at, but it was an organizational and equitable disaster area when—as was the case during the Vietnam War—fewer than half the men turning 18 were needed in the armed forces.

In part, the inequity was beyond the control of the 4,000 draft boards. It was not their fault that the draft, as James Reston once observed, "is a system whereby poor boys are selected to go to Vietnam and rich boys are selected to go to college." But because the system was so decentralized, and because Director Lewis B. Hershey believed so firmly in not interfering with local-board policies, the consequence was that classification and deferment practices varied erratically from board to board and state to state. Uniform treatment under the law is imperative when young men are being picked to go out and face bullets, but all during the nineteen-sixties that imperative was ignored. Except for the older military careerists, the American war in Indochina was fought by young American males who turned 18 between July, 1963, and July, 1971. There were 14.5 million of them, and of these 58 per cent never served a day on active duty. Less than 12 per cent was drafted. Fewer than one in three volunteered. Of the six million who did serve, only about a third actually went to Vietnam—or one out of seven in the total manpower pool of the Vietnam war years. The other 8.5 million escaped service in a variety of ways.

Some simply stayed in college and graduate school long enough to turn 26 and thus end their draft liability. The rise in college attendance was extraordinary—among males: 29 per cent of 18- and 19-year-old American boys were in college in 1963; the rate increased by more than a third, to 39 per cent, by 1969. It has since fallen back to 35 per cent. No such surge occurred in the college attendance of 18- and 19-year-old girls. The conclusion is inescapable that the draft and the war propelled hundreds of thousands of young men into college during 1965 to 1970 who would not otherwise have attended. It is

equally certain that the primary beneficiaries of the deferment for college students were those already most favored in our society, the children of upper-income families.

More than a million eluded the draft by enlisting in the reserves and doing their bit at home on weekends. This route was largely the preserve of educated white males. Although no enlisted man's job in the military, active or reserve, requires any college training at all, in 1969, those with at least some college accounted for 59 per cent of all reserve enlistments; only 1 per cent were nonwhite. (It is true that reservists faced a potential call to active duty, but in fact only 37,000 were called. Some were so repelled at the notion of being required to carry out their bargain that more than 1,500 of them joined in 25 different law suits protecting their callup. They lost.)

Some young men, although no one can say how many, avoided the military by playing games with Selective Service. In the first five years of the sixties, there were 41,462 Selective Service appeals. In the second five years there were 596,258. There is much anecdotal evidence that thousands and thousands shopped around among draft boards—changing their residences as necessary—until they found one which would excuse them.

More than four million men were disqualified because they could not pass the armed forces physical examination. The standards appeared to be perfectly straightforward, but they produced disquieting results: the more education one had, the less likely he was to pass the physical. Only 19 per cent of the high-school dropouts were disqualified medically, but 34 per cent of the college graduates flunked, and the figure rose to 38 per cent for the brightest of all, those who went on to graduate school.

In numbers which defy estimation, men escaped the draft through corrupt means. Some evaders found physicians, either venal or passionately opposed to the war, who would conspire with them to create false or dubious disqualifying medical histories. Some men bribed their way into reserve units. Some pretended homosexuality. Some ran away, not on moral grounds, but simply out of fear.

Looking back on the anger and resistance which marked this country as the bloody trickle in Vietnam became a hemorrhage, it is astonishing to discover that from 1967 through 1971, the five most tumultuous years of the anti-war movement, only 4,495 men were convicted of draft-law violations. Thus, a huge majority—about 85 per cent—of draft-liable men avoided service in Vietnam, and an immense majority of that huge majority did so by lawful means, by taking advantage of deferment policies which were inherently inequitable, skewed in favor of the brainy, the crafty, the wealthy and the educated, and whose unfairness was multiplied by disparate administration.

There remain the draft evaders and deserters, the sad human residue of our country's military adventure in Southeast Asia, a residue whose fate will be a divisive, anguishing issue until time or magnanimity or both have removed the issue from the national agenda. No one really knows the size of the group or where they all are or how many actually committed an offense by departing or how many face prosecution on return.

Opponents of the Vietnam War tend to inflate the numbers of resisters while supporters minimize them. As for draft evaders, whatever the "true" count, the effective count at the beginning of 1974 was 5,119 under indictment and another 3,080 under investigation. There is no basis for confidently estimating the number of draft resisters who simply slipped unnoticed between the cracks. Of the 8,199 cases pending in January, 1974, an estimated 4,400 involved fugitives, with 3,000 thought to be in Canada. The number of Vietnam era military deserters still at large is unknown. The Defense Department

reports that of all deserters since July 1, 1966, only 28,661 were still at large on Dec. 31, 1973, but it does not know how many of those men deserted after our part in the fighting stopped and how many before. In any event, adding evaders and deserters, there appear to be about 35,000 exiles underground or overseas as a result of Vietnam. If there are more than that, the Government does not know about them. The surplus, if there is one, can come home just as it went away, unnoticed.

Who are these exiles? If anything about them is certain, it is that by no means all of them fled because of moral scruple. Rather, they are composed of scamps and saints, liars, prophets, sad sacks, heroes, cowards, simpletons, cynics, gentle men, bullies, authors, illiterates, every kind of mother's son. To portray them as a homogeneous mass, 35,000 peas in a pod, all to be blessed or all to be cursed, is a piece of impertinence.

Nevertheless, there have been detailed studies of deserters which permit some generalizations. The Defense Department has found that the typical deserter eventually returns or is caught; that he was a high school dropout (69 per cent), not very smart (43 per cent in the lowest acceptable aptitude category), white (85 per cent) and with no prior record (70 per cent), all in all a very ordinary lot, and one is tempted to ask who needs them?

But most of the 28,661 deserters now at issue have been gone a long time. Are those who have atypically stayed away atypical in other respects? Apparently not, if one accepts the Defense Department special analysis of every deserter who has surfaced in a foreign country. Such men tend to be long-term absentees, but in their other characteristics they seem to be about the same as the less spectacular, short-term deserter.

There have been no similarly comprehensive studies of draft evaders, but it is generally assumed that, by way of prior economic status and education, they were better off than the deserters. This assumption is buttressed by University of Toronto Associate Professor Saul Levine, who found that evaders were more likely than deserters to adjust successfully to life in Canada, because they tended to be older, and had some parental support (not necessarily agreement), some college education, planned and prepared for the move in advance, contacts in Canada, an ideology or philosophic rationale for their actions, money or marketable skills, and considerable luck. [These were] middle-class individuals."

Despite the wide variety of views about what we ought to do in the future with respect to the Vietnam exiles, not many people seem to inquire as to what we have done about them in the past, to those we have already caught. If there is to be a new policy, let us look at the results of the old policy before we proceed.

During 1967 and the next six years, more than 300,000 men classified as deserters returned to military control. The armed forces define a deserter as anyone who is gone longer than 30 days, but to convict a man of desertion requires proof beyond a reasonable doubt that he intended to stay away permanently. Such proof is hard to come by, so much so that, in the 10 years 1963 to 1973, there were only 3,919 prosecutions for desertion. In short, most "deserters" turn out to be, and are dealt with as, A.W.O.L.'s. The Defense Department does not keep track of what subsequently happens to all the men who "desert" and then come or are brought back. Their fates disappear into aggregated statistics which totally resist disaggregation.

However, the military does keep a special eye on its men who are known to have run away to a foreign country, and it records what happens to them when they come back. Through the end of 1973, it had located 4,194 such men, 1,090 of whom were aliens who, for

<sup>1</sup>In July, 1966, President Johnson appointed a commission, chaired by former Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, to look into the fairness of the Selective Service System. The commission documented the erratic and inequitable impact of the draft and in February, 1967, recommended appropriate change. That spring, Congress rejected the recommendations. Later under prodding from the Nixon Administration, the Congress adopted most of the Marshall Commission recommendation, and the law finally became fair just as it was about to expire.

the most part, had simply gone back to their own countries and were discharged *in absentia*. Another 1,217 had returned to United States military control and the outcome of the disciplinary action against them was known.

It can be presumed that the soldier who flees in wartime to Sweden or Canada, denounces the United States, and later surrenders himself back to the military is not going to be particularly popular with his colleagues in the armed forces. But the punishment administered the 1,217 returnees does not seem remarkably severe; 44 per cent were not even prosecuted. Forty per cent served no time at all, 41 per cent were sentenced to six months or less, and only 4.5 per cent received sentences longer than 1 year (it is not known how many of those convicted were charged with an unrelated crime committed prior to their departure). Fifty-one per cent were given "bad" discharges, which cause the loss of veterans' benefits, while 49 per cent were either eventually restored to duty or given "good" discharges.

What happens in Selective Service prosecutions? The following table tells part of the story:

Convicted	
Fiscal year:	Cases completed
1967	966
1968	1,192
1969	1,744
1970	2,833
1971	2,973
1972	4,906
1973	3,495
1974	2,070

Convicted [In percent]	
Fiscal year:	
1967	75
1968	66
1969	52
1970	36
1971	35
1972	33
1973	28
1974	33

Imprisoned [In percent]	
Fiscal year:	
1967	66
1968	48
1969	31
1970	16
1971	13
1972	9
1973	7
1974	7

The table tells us that as time goes by, prosecutors, judges and juries have less and less enthusiasm for putting draft-law violators behind bars. Even so, much depends on where the defendant is tried. In 1972, the 27 cases completed in Connecticut resulted in only 1 conviction, but in Idaho the figure was 7 of 11, in Wyoming 0 of 7, Arkansas 9 of 13, Alaska 0 of 10, Alabama (Northern) 12 of 16 and Alabama (Southern) 0 of 3. Going further, the rate of prison sentences for draft violators convicted that same year was 19 of 22 in North Carolina (Eastern) and 0 of 10 for North Carolina (Western); in New York (Southern) it was 15 of 45 and in New York (Western) 0 of 20; for Oregon it was 23 of 29, Ohio 1 of 51, Wisconsin (Western) 7 of 7 and so on. The hand of justice in the nineteen-seventies is more appallingly uneven than the collective hand of the 4,000 draft boards at work in the sixties.

It seems time to get on with the binding up of the social wounds, but where should we land between those who cry: "Everybody unconditionally," and those who insist: "Nobody ever"? Many Presidents have granted amnesties or the equivalent, but none seems ever to have done so totally and unconditionally. The nearest thing to a blanket, no

strings amnesty happened in 1830, when President Andrew Jackson pardoned all deserters at large, but on condition that never again would they be eligible to serve in the armed forces. It is not known how many men were affected, but presumably all were agreeable to the condition.

More usually, the Presidential act of grace has extended to those who have already been convicted and served their time, or who returned to their units by such and such a deadline, or who completed a year of honorable service in the armed forces and so forth. However, on at least two occasions, Presidential subordinates have offered blanket, unconditional amnesty to wartime evaders or deserters.

A rarely cited Civil War amnesty came just six months after Appomattox. It applied to draft evaders on the union side. The amnesty took the form of General Order No. 152, issued on October 17, 1865, by E. T. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General. It read:

"Hereafter no person shall be arrested as a deserter for having failed to report under any draft, or for any other noncompliance with the enrollment act or the amendments thereto. Any and all persons of this class now held will be immediately discharged."

The most recent precedent is cited in none of the by now voluminous literature on amnesty. On April 8, 1959, the Army adopted a policy to waive court-martial trial and issue administrative discharges to the remaining World War II deserters, without their return to military control. The men affected—the Army has no record of how many—were given undesirable discharges.

In deciding what to do about the 35,000 exiles, let us take care not to try to decide too much. There is no need to decide whether the war in Vietnam was moral or immoral, or whether selective conscientious objection is after all permissible, or whether the system of characterizing military discharges should be abolished, or what to do about Richard Milhous Nixon. All we need decide is whether to invite the 35,000 to rejoin America on some basis which is neither vindictive nor vindicative.

Herewith a proposal. As to military deserters, let us do what the Army did concerning World War II deserters during the Eisenhower Presidency, only let us do it sooner rather than later. Specifically, for men who left before Dec. 29, 1972—the date of the last involuntary induction into the armed forces—an option either to receive an undesirable discharge without ever returning to military control, or to rejoin their units and take their chances on prosecution—the only possibility of ultimately earning an honorable discharge.

The deserter who both regards himself as innocent of wrongdoing and is unwilling to be tried by the military will protest that the offer of an undesirable discharge by mail is not much of an offer, but he cannot have it both ways. Under present law, if he is to be ineligible for veterans' benefits—and surely he has not earned them—the only way to cut them off, without a trial, is with an undesirable discharge.

As to the draft-law violators, let them come back with the assurance that the Department of Justice will oppose incarceration either pending trial or, if convicted, thereafter. In a television interview on Aug. 26, Attorney General William B. Saxbe indicated he personally had already adopted such a position; three days later he added the thought that any returnee seeking leniency should show some contrition, through either words or action. It seems to me this exacts too much to no particular purpose. The goal is not to secure apologies; rather, it is to restore these people to the main stream, without making moral judgments on their past conduct. Where the law has been broken, it would be wrong to ignore it, but if the history of the last several years

is a guide, most of the cases will be dismissed without ever coming to trial. If some Federal judge insists on sentencing a convicted violator to prison, the President can see to his prompt parole. The handful of Selective Service law violators in prison today should be released at once.

Such a policy would do scarcely more than ratify what is already happening in 93 per cent of the Selective Service cases, but it would have the special virtue of ending the mindless geographic variations in leniency (or severity) which now marks the disposition of draft law cases. There will surely be some fugitives who will denounce the thought that they should continue to be exposed to trial at all, but they ought to listen to the words of Colonel Jones quoted at the beginning of this article: "Every American can expect his fair day in court, and should expect nothing more or settle for anything less." Finally, while we are at it, let such wretches as the convict Calley go. Enough is enough.

#### CASIMIR PULASKI, AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR HERO

#### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, 195 years ago on October 11, the great patriot and brilliant military leader Gen. Casimir Pulaski, who assisted the Americans in their fight for freedom during the Revolutionary War, sacrificed his life in the cause of liberty.

Casimir Pulaski was born in the Province of Podolia in 1748, and from his earliest childhood demonstrated the qualities of organization and leadership which were manifested all his life. Before he reached the age of 20, he had organized a small group that fought valiantly to prevent the partition of Poland. However, his efforts were to no avail, and he barely managed to escape with his life.

In 1777, he met Benjamin Franklin in Paris, and Franklin was so favorably impressed, he gave Pulaski a letter of introduction to Gen. George Washington. It was Washington who suggested to the Continental Congress that young Pulaski be entrusted with the grave responsibility of reorganizing the American cavalry forces. This Pulaski accomplished with such skill that he was placed in command of all our cavalry forces, and proceeded to distinguish himself in every subsequent encounter with the enemy.

In the 11th Congressional District of Illinois, which I have the honor to represent in the Congress, there exists a large Polish population. I have lived among the Polish people, I have nieces and nephews who have Polish fathers, and I am proud of my close affiliation with the Polish people.

From this close association, I have come to know the Poles as a courageous people, as a dedicated people, as a patriotic people, as a religious people, and as a warm and loving people. Their courage in the face of tyranny has been demonstrated time and again over a span of centuries, their dedication to their principles has not faltered in the face of



overwhelming odds, their patriotism has been manifested in their continuing struggle for a free Poland, and their devotion to their church and to their families is evident to us all.

All of these characteristics serve to make up an extraordinary people, and General Pulaski, as a descendant of the extraordinary Polish people, is a man to be remembered with pride and gratitude. In 1779, at the age of 31, Pulaski gave up his life on the battlefield while leading his famous cavalry legion in driving the British out of Savannah.

He neither lived to see victory achieved on the battlefield, nor did he live to see America win her fight for independence, yet his valiant efforts were instrumental in establishing this wonderful country of ours which recognizes and upholds the inherent dignity of man and the fundamental rights of the individual.

I am proud to join Americans of Polish descent in the 11th District, in Chicago, and all over this Nation in commemorating the 195th anniversary of General Pulaski's supreme and inspiring sacrifice during our American War of Independence.

#### JOLIET POLICE FOIL GUNMAN

#### HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, in recent months this country, and others, have been plagued by kidnappings. In some cases the tactic was used for political purposes, in others, criminals have taken hostages to bargain for money or freedom. Despite the valiant efforts of our law enforcement agencies, many lives have been lost in these terrifying human transactions.

Fortunately, this was not the case last month when a gunman attempted to rob the Rice & Larsen jewelry store in Joliet, Ill. Thanks to the courage and quick thinking of the Joliet police, the lives of four hostages were saved, although one woman suffered a painful, but minor leg wound.

I would like to commend every member of the department for the bravery, inventiveness, and selfless dedication they displayed in capturing the gunman and others involved in the case. In particular, I want to commend Police Chief Fred Breen, Capt. Charles Hamilton, who was held hostage, Officer Robert Mau, who wounded the gunman and ended the ordeal, and Officer James Ryan, who first discovered the robbery and radioed for assistance.

The following are two accounts of the event published in the Joliet Herald News:

[From the Joliet (Ill.) Herald News, Sept. 15, 1974]

POLICE COURAGE CITED IN ROBBERY-KIDNAPING

(By John Whiteside)

Their comments—more than 24 hours later—were both humorous and serious.

Joliet police officers and Chief Fred Breen told their story to the city council Thursday

afternoon. The story of Wednesday's armed robbery of a downtown jewelry store in which a gunman took a woman and a police captain as hostages.

It was a drama that ended with success. Officers were able to rescue the two hostages with the woman receiving only a minor injury.

And when the story ended, Mayor Maurice Berlinsky said, "The fearless courage of our police department was unbelievable. We need idols like these men."

He recommended the police and fire commission establish a special unit citation for the officers who participated in the action.

Patrolman James Ryan, a tall young officer with two years at the department, was the first to speak. He was the beat officer who spotted the initial action at the jewelry store and radioed the message for backup.

He seemed almost shy as he told his role. Later he drew laughs from the councilmen as he told of "commandeering a service station attendant's pants" to disguise himself in the eastside chase.

Capt. Charles Hamilton, an 18-year veteran, told the bulk of the story. He was the officer who removed his service revolver and drove the gunman and hostage from the scene.

For more than an hour he drove the gunman around the east side while a gun was held at the woman hostage's head.

Hamilton praised fellow officers for commandeering civilian vehicles and disguising themselves as the getaway car was kept under surveillance. He said the gunman had no idea that many of the vehicles were filled with cops.

"Talk of Toma (an undercover cop television show), they were there," Hamilton said. "There was everything but an ice cream truck borrowed right there on the streets."

"I saw (Sgt. Arthur) Schultz in a yellow cab and then in a dump truck. He was there every time I turned around. I don't think they were ever more than three-quarters of a block away."

Hamilton told how the gunman ordered him to stop and get cigarettes for the woman hostage. And how he gave him a dollar to pay for the cigarettes. He said the service station manager later sent the dollar to the police station and said, "I don't want any more of your business."

He said he feared if they ever left the city the gunman would shoot him. He said he kept talking to the gunman.

"I told him I'm a grandfather and I'm going to help you all I can," Hamilton said.

Finally at 12:40 p.m. Wednesday—at the intersection of Charlesworth and Meeker Avenues—the gunman wanted to switch to a fourth car. Only the car chosen, at Hamilton's urging, was driven by disguised officers Ryan and Robert Mau.

Mau—an experienced officer known for his marksmanship—took over the story then.

He told how he sat in the car after the getaway car pulled in front of him. How he sat with one hand on the steering wheel and the other holding his revolver.

"He aimed his gun at me and said get out," Mau said, describing how he climbed out of the car holding his gun in his right hand behind him. "As I closed the door I fired and missed him and then put five rounds through the door."

Hamilton said at the same time he was pulling the woman hostage from the backseat. He said one of Mau's shots went through the gunman's legs and hit her in the foot.

"I went to see her in the hospital last night and we were both crying like old home week," Hamilton said.

Schultz told how five more persons were arrested later in the night through investigative work—including getting a search warrant signed at 2 a.m. by Judge Michael Orenic.

Schultz said he had been in a grocery store buying bread when first contacted about the robbery and hostages.

"I got home 15 hours later without the bread," he said.

"After the drama ended (at the capture) the work began," Breen said, "an endless chain of paperwork."

Breen said he will recommend the three officers that were fired upon—Hamilton, Mau and Ryan—be cited for their work.

The mayor said he would like to see a unit citation established and perhaps call it "the Capt. Hamilton Award."

"Today we all feel comfortable at what our police officers were able to do," Berlinsky said.

[From the Joliet (Ill.) Herald News, Sept. 15, 1974]

CHIEF BREEN PRAISES OFFICERS ON TEAMWORK

It was teamwork.

Quick thinking police officers—with ingenuity and speed—performing like a well trained team helped to foil a holdup man's escape this week as he held a gun to a woman hostage's head, says Police Chief Fred Breen.

Wednesday's drama includes Capt. Charles Hamilton, unarmed, driving the gunman and hostage around the eastside for more than an hour following the robbery of a downtown jewelry store.

Meanwhile, countless police officers swung into action commandeering civilian vehicles and clothes to keep the getaway car under constant surveillance. It ended with the successful apprehension of the gunman and only a minor injury to the woman hostage.

Breen had only praise for his officers. Speed, alertness, initiative, ingenuity, dedication, self-discipline, training, experience and education were just a few of the words he used in describing the operation.

"And I suppose there was a bit of luck," Breen added.

The operation was off to a quick start from the beginning, Breen said.

He painted this picture. The gunman was in the basement with four hostages. Police had the area surrounded. The gunman wanted to keep the four hostages and he wanted a car.

"It was a warm day, the room was small, he was under pressure and wanted to get out of there," Breen said.

The car was promised, after police equipment and fuses from the radio were removed from the unmarked squad.

Three hostages came to the top of the steps, the gunman was still at the bottom with the woman hostage. Breen ordered the three to run.

The gunman was angry when he saw the three were gone.

"He felt double-crossed," Breen said.

But Breen and Hamilton "keep jiving" with him and "not letting him have time to think."

They wanted to keep him confused, Breen said. If not, the gunman may have taken time to present "a list of demands as long as your arm."

Demands such as a car with radio, more guns and money.

"Outside, the area had gone from an armed confrontation to relative calm," Breen said, noting marked squads and officers had moved back, but were in position for action.

Once the eastside chase had started, Breen said, only one suggestion was made about commandeering civilian vehicles.

"And the officers took it from there," he said.

They commandeered dump trucks, cabs, postal cars, station wagons and even clothes to disguise themselves. Hamilton said the gunman had no idea the many vehicles in the area were filled with cops.

"At the first suggestion, it didn't take long for everyone to fall in line," Breen said. "They

took their shirts off, bared their chests and used private cars."

The quickness of disguises can be illustrated by Capt. Donald "Ziggy" Zier. Starting out in a suit, he said he left his coat in one car, his tie in another and finally his shirt in a third car.

"Paramount in all was the safety of the people involved," Breen said. "We could have shot many times but restrained because of the hostage."

Breen attributes much of the success to the quick thinking of Hamilton, an 18 year veteran, in the get away car. At one time when the car moved from the Richards Street area to Collins Street the car almost got out of sight.

Breen said Hamilton told the gunman the car needed gas. That gave police time to catch up, he said. In addition, Collins Street leads toward Lockport.

The police chief admitted he was glad it was an older experienced officer involved when the actual confrontation took place. Officer Robert Mau who shot the gunman is a 17-year police veteran and one of the better shots in the department, Breen said.

"He (Mau) knew that was it and it was split second timing," Breen said.

"The complete operation shows the high level of intelligence in the department," Breen said. "This is because we have better educated police officers now. There is no doubt we have higher training and educational levels than previous years."

He said many off-duty officers responded to the emergency. Not a one has requested overtime pay, he said.

"I didn't have to tell anyone twice what to do," he concluded. "All were outstanding in the way they reacted."

#### A NEW LIFE-SAVING TECHNIQUE

### HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, a Cincinnati doctor has discovered and proposed a life-saving technique which has already saved many lives and which promises to save the lives of thousands who might otherwise choke to death every year.

The technique is called the "Heimlich maneuver" after Dr. Henry Heimlich, director of surgery at Jewish Hospital, Cincinnati, Ohio. The maneuver consists of standing behind a choking victim, gripping both arms around the victim's waist above the belt line, one hand grasping the other wrist. The method is to rapidly and strongly press the other hand, formed in a fist, into the victim's diaphragm just below the ribs.

In the instances where this method has been used, it has sharply compressed the lungs and expelled the matter which was choking the victim. In all known cases since Dr. Heimlich announced the method last June in Emergency Medicine magazine, all potential victims have survived. Nearly 4,000 persons die annually by choking on substances caught in their throats, the sixth largest cause of accidental deaths.

Dr. Heimlich developed the technique with research on beagles at Jewish Hospital's Esophagus Center. He published his findings in an article entitled "Pop goes the cafe coronary," because most

chokings seem to occur at a dining table and resemble a heart attack. Also, when the method is applied, the obstruction often pops out like a cork from a bottle.

Numerous reports of lives saved have come from such addresses as Chicago, Seattle, Kansas City, Tennessee, Elmhurst, Ill., Belchertown, Mass., Washington, D.C., Republic of Korea, and Albuquerque.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend Dr. Heimlich for developing this life-saving method and encourage wide distribution and publicity so that it may be added to emergency first-aid systems to save lives.

#### "DEAR MR. FORD"

### HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the thoughts of one of my constituents, Mary Patricia Peralta of Livermore, Calif., on President Ford's pardoning of Mr. Nixon. I believe her quandary over the equal applicability of American justice is shared by many Americans. It is now Congress responsibility to regain this faith in our constitutional principles.

LIVERMORE, CALIF.,

October 2, 1974.

DEAR MR. STARK: I have been very upset since that day when President Ford pardoned Mr. Nixon.

When ever I am upset, I sit down and write about what ever is bothering me. This writing usually ends up as poetry of a sort.

I wrote the enclosed verses for Mr. Ford. However I have not sent them to him. I feel that they would never reach him. I would like all of the Government workers, from the President on down to know how a little old lady in California feels about the way justice is handled in Washington.

Thank you for reading my letter. You are a man with good honest thoughts and deeds.

God bless you and help you in your work. Sincerely yours,

MARY PATRICIA PERALTA.

DEAR MR. FORD

My Dear Mr. Ford,  
Won't you please tell me,  
Why you let Mr. Nixon  
Get off scott free.

Is he any different,  
Were the laws not meant  
For all who do wrong  
And to prison are sent.

I think of the men  
Who worked under him.  
Who obeyed all his orders  
And now sit in the pen.

How about draft evaders  
Who ran from the war.  
Will you pardon them too,  
Will you open their door.

Why not close all the prisons,  
Set all prisoners free.  
Or were laws only meant  
For poor people like me.

If you call this justice,  
If this is the way,  
That you use your power,  
It's indeed a sad day.

—MARY PATRICIA PERALTA.

#### CHROME SUPPLY AGAIN IN JEOPARDY

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, soon the House will consider a measure which would reimpose the embargo on the importation of chrome from Rhodesia.

For a variety of reasons, it is essential that this measure be rejected.

In 1967, the United States initially adhered to the embargo declared by the United Nations on all products from Rhodesia. At the time the embargo went into effect the price of metallurgical grade chrome ore—per short ton—of our imports from the Soviet Union, the only other important producer of this product, stood at \$39.87. With the imposition of the embargo, the Congress gave the Soviet Union a tacit monopoly of the market. When the Byrd amendment—permitting the importation of Rhodesian chrome—was adopted in 1971, the Russians had arbitrarily raised their chrome prices to \$68.49, approximately a 60-percent increase. By last year, through the competition offered once again by the Rhodesian market, the price had declined to \$51.73 per ton.

Discussing the embargo, the Phoenix Gazette has noted that:

The initial U.N. action was to protest Rhodesia's white minority government, but the U.N. never imposed sanctions against totalitarian "minority" Communist governments. Although the sanctions were supposed to be observed by all U.N. members, Russia continued to buy chrome ore from the Rhodesians.

Repeal of the Byrd amendment would mean windfall profits to the Soviet Union. It would also mean U.S. dependence upon the Soviet Union for chromium ore which, as the Phoenix Gazette points out:

Is not found in the United States but is vital to the production of planes, submarines, missiles and other strategic weapons.

The national interest demands that we reinstitute the embargo against Rhodesian chrome.

I wish to share with my colleagues the thoughtful editorial on this subject which appeared in the September 25, 1974 edition of the Phoenix Gazette, and insert it into the RECORD at this time:

#### CHROME SUPPLY AGAIN IN JEOPARDY

When the United Nations voted economic sanctions against Rhodesia in 1967 the United States foolishly knuckled under to the U.N. edict. Thus this nation lost its supply of fairly priced, high-grade chrome until three years ago when Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia got Congress to approve resumed U.S. trade with Rhodesia.

Now the U.S. again faces loss of the Rhodesian chrome supply. Since passage of the Byrd amendment, the Senate has twice voted for repeal, and now the House Foreign Affairs Committee has voted for repeal.

The initial U.N. action was to protest Rhodesia's white minority government, but the U.N. never imposed sanctions against totalitarian "minority" Communist governments. Although the sanctions were supposed to be observed by all U.N. members, Russia con-



tinued to buy chrome ore from the Rhodesians.

In fact, the 1967 U.N. action was a boon to Russia, which became the world's principal chrome supplier. The U.S. had to buy 60 per cent of its requirements from the Soviet Union, and the price shot from \$30 to \$72 a ton. Much of the chrome was Rhodesian, and Russia acted as the middleman.

During the past three years the U.S. has bought some 500,000 tons of chrome directly from Rhodesia at fair market prices. During the Russian chrome swindle the U.S. taxpayer got socked an additional \$15 million because of the action of an international body.

Chromium ore is not found in the United States but is vital to the production of planes, submarines, missiles and other strategic weapons—as well as in the manufacture of many U.S. products.

Among those fighting pro-U.N. anti-Rhodesia members of Congress is Rep. John Conlan, R-Ariz., who believes that the United States—not the United Nations—should control U.S. foreign policy. Yet there are those in Congress who believe that U.N. actions have the same standing as a "provision of our own Constitution." If that's the case, the U.S. will be at the mercy of the Communist world.

# MISS HORTENSE M. ROWE, VIRGIN ISLANDS COMMISSIONER OF CONSERVATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

## HON. RON DE LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, certainly many of my distinguished colleagues would be interested to know that our Virgin Islands, since 1493, has been under the political control of six European countries—Spain, France, Holland, England, Denmark and presently the United States—and one joint venture, namely the Knights of Malta. Throughout the centuries, however, it was the peoples of African descent who were the predominant inhabitants and contributors to the development of these beautiful islands of which we are so proud. An inevitable consequence of this historical interplay has been the creation and development of our unique Virgin Islands culture.

It is with great pride, therefore, that I can share with my colleagues the significant strides our Honorable Commissioner of Conservation and Cultural Affairs, Miss Hortense M. Rowe, is making within that local department to collect, conserve and preserve every available evidence of our Virgin Islands heritage despite the obvious difficulties and obstacles involved. It is beyond saying that Commissioner Rowe is committed to live up to the pledge she made to our people to do the job she has accepted. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Virgin Islands Post, Oct. 1, 1974]

HORTENSE ROWE: CONSERVATION COMMISSIONER IN CONTROVERSY

(By Vernon Khelawan)

With all the controversy now being stirred up between the Executive Branch and the Legislature about the purchases of "Denmark Hill" and the "Hull Bay Site," I spoke to the lady in whose Department the whole thing

falls—Conservation and Cultural Affairs Commissioner, Hortense Rowe.

The Commissioner did not get directly involved in the current controversies but went through great detail to emphasize the role of her Department in the overall scheme of things.

From a Cultural viewpoint, Commissioner Rowe said that her Department was committed "to preserve and protect the cultural and historic heritage of the people of the Virgin Islands. We expect to do this through continuing research to document significant activities and accomplishments of heroic Virgin Islanders and to disseminate the information to the public through schools, libraries and museums.

"We also expect to establish a Virgin Islands Archival system to preserve and protect among other things, all government documents which constitute an integral part of the present history of the Virgin Islands," she said.

Going further into revealing the plans of the Department, Commissioner Rowe said, "consistent with the above, we also have a rigorous Virgin Islands Museum plan as well as a territorial archeological excavation and preservation plan.

"We expect," she continued, "to house the various segments of the Virgin Islands Museum network in historic buildings—these buildings have already been surveyed, some are owned by the V.I. Government and others are privately owned."

Miss Rowe, then went on to explain the restoration program now going on at Fort Frederik in Frederiksted which is part of a master plan for restoration work on other government-owned property of historical value.

She added that part of that plan also included restoration of privately-owned property of historical value. She said however that those not acquired by the government, would be jointly restored by the government and the private owners.

"Many things we need," warned the Commissioner, "as it relates to Cultural Preservation, are still being developed, for instance, we are now working on the Virgin Islands Antiquities Law, which will be presented to the Legislature shortly."

She then referred to the completion of the Virgin Islands Historical Site Register as one of her cultural goals. This would mean a complete inventory of all historic places and things in the Virgin Islands.

The Commissioner then disclosed that towards the end of this year, the Virgin Islands should be receiving more than 10 tons of V.I. artifacts excavated in the early 1900s and presently stored in the basement of the Danish National Museum. "These will be housed in our various museums here," she said.

Asked about cultural exchange, Miss Rowe smilingly replied, "You cannot live in a vacuum. There are certain countries which have contributed to the cultural development of the Virgin Islands over the years which we must recognize. We have our cultural exchanges with some countries, we don't have with all, but it is our hope to expand immeasurably in this area."

## CONSERVATION

Swinging the interview to the area of Conservation, the Commissioner described the tale of her Department as one to "enforce all existing laws dealing with air and water pollution, oil spills, fish and wildlife preservation, shoreline alteration and in general, protecting the natural resources of these Virgin Islands, which I consider to be irreplaceable."

Miss Rowe then pointed out that the Department was not presently satisfied with the municipal landscaping in the islands and towards improving this area, the Department was waiting on the Conservation Fund

budget, which was now being analysed by the Finance Committee of the Tenth Legislature. Various sums are earmarked for Highway beautification on all three islands in significant impact areas.

She also spoke of the necessity to develop in our people, a sense of national pride as a people, something which is greatly lacking today. She then sadly referred to a recent incident in St. Thomas where several plants put down by her department for beautification of a project were instantly removed by people.

National pride, as she saw it, was necessary for the development of these islands, and if heed was not taken, pretty soon, all would be lost.

She said, "the same feeling of pride which one gets through ownership, should be amplified into considering the community as a whole." She added, "the streets should be an amplification of our homes."

In this respect, she spoke glowingly about the Youth Conservation Corps, a pilot program which was introduced last summer for the first time. "Aim of this project," he said, "was to develop an awareness for the environment." She explained that if we could inculcate in the youth the necessity for preserving environment, then half the battle for future conservation practices would have been won.

## RECREATION

The definition given by Commissioner Rowe for her Department's role in recreation was: "to provide fully designed and planned recreational facilities, first to those communities where no such facilities exist. They do not exist through no fault of the Department, but rather as a result of poor planning knowingly or unknowingly by recent developers of residential communities in the Virgin Islands."

She added that her Department was also committed to upgrading the existing facilities and to gearing programs as well as facilities so that they begin to turn out professional athletes.

The Commissioner said that besides the physical development of recreational facilities, her Department was also committed to the development and implementation of activities which will improve the quality of our athletes.

Asked about the proposed Sports Council, she said, "It could only serve to strengthen the efforts of the Government and act as a liaison between the Government and the existing Sports Federations of the island. I support it."

Commissioner Rowe was born in Frederiksted, the first of seven children. She is the daughter of Hugh Milligan of the Water and Power Authority. She is a past pupil of St. Patrick's in Frederiksted and a graduate of Inter-American University in Puerto Rico with a degree in economics and Business Administration. She also did post-graduate work in Accounting at the University of Puerto Rico.

Prior to accepting the Commissionership in February 1972, Miss Rowe worked with the now defunct VICORP and then as Resident Manager of a Christiansted CPA firm.

Although accounting and business is her first love, she accepted the job because "I had every confidence I could do the job. I manage the Department systematically. Incidentally this was Miss Rowe's first government job.

She added that it was never her intention to make the job a career, but there are certain things she has started which she would like to finish, "but nevertheless since I work with systems, things are in such a position that anyone can pick up."

Finally, in answer to my question about her commitment, Miss Rowe said, "My strongest commitment at this time for Cul-

tural and Historical Preservation is that herein lies the unique differences of the Virgin Islands and its people and we ought to be proud of them and sell them to every individual who comes here, so that we can better understand each other, thus setting the style for a harmonious living, working and playing together."

## TWO VIEWS OF EAST-WEST TRADE

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues two articles which appeared in the August 14, 1974, Christian Science Monitor. The articles present conflicting views on the merits and problems of East-West trade, especially in relation to the businesses involved.

The Congress has been debating the issue of most-favored-nation treatment for Eastern bloc countries for a number of years. This Congress once again finds itself embroiled in this delicate issue. I believe my colleagues will find the attached two articles worthwhile:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 14, 1974]

### TWO VIEWS OF WESTERN TRADE WITH EAST PRO: A STIMULUS TO EVEN MORE TWO-WAY TRADE

(By David J. Steinberg)

The cold war has thawed somewhat, and the Iron Curtain has become porous. But the Soviet Union is still more or less what Winston Churchill called it 35 years ago: "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

Most American businessmen who have explored business deals with the Russians, even successfully, might agree, wondering about the intentions and motives of the Soviet Government and the implications for U.S. security and world peace.

American businessmen, however, are no more responsive to expanding opportunities for selling and investing in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries than their government allows them to be. It is Washington's job to set the sights, the rules, and the policies to ensure that what is good for the corporation is above all good for the country.

Exports to Communist countries (as elsewhere) are good for U.S. jobs, productivity, income, and overall economic strength.

Imports from the Communists help satisfy consumer demand, meet growing needs for scarce materials, combat inflation, and finance exports to those countries. U.S. investments in these areas, by developing resources and raising standards of living, can stimulate two-way trade if the Communists will let it happen.

The whole process of East-West trade and interdependence is essential to cooperation in tackling the spectrum of world problems, not least the need to prevent war and build a durable peace.

#### Cautious moves

Knowing what we know about Soviet policy, and justifiably apprehensive about what we don't know, we have moved cautiously in relaxing controls over U.S. exports of goods, capital, and know-how to the East bloc.

Some critics in the administration, Congress, business, and elsewhere say we have not been cautious enough. Soviet policy in the Middle East war of 1973, and recent U.S.

handling of the dramatic and traumatic Soviet purchase of American wheat, have sparked wide and open reassessments of our East-West trade.

To engage or not to engage in it is not the question. This trade and investment is beneficial, and can be more so, for economic purposes but also as an essential part of East-West foreign policy. The real issue is how far we should go, and how quickly, in releasing the goods, capital, and technology the Soviet Union so eagerly seeks.

Also, how far we should go in expanding dependence on critical materials from the Soviet Union, how much aid to give through U.S. credits to help finance Soviet purchases of U.S. capital equipment, and how much access to allow Soviet manufactured goods in the U.S. market.

There is warranted concern over the extent to which access to U.S. crops and equipment, particularly with easy financing terms, permits the Soviets to maintain or increase their heavy military outlays.

Expansion of East-West trade is important to peace, but we should have no illusions about the effect of closer economic relations on the political and military decisions of a dictatorial government aggressively ambitious in its foreign policy.

Nor should we nurture any illusions about U.S. trade controls as a restraint on Soviet acquisition of needed supplies or as leverage to get Moscow to reform its treatment of Soviet citizens. (We should exert appropriate, carefully calculated efforts to persuade Russia to modernize its morality, not just its economy.)

#### Factors to weigh

With cautious optimism, we should vigorously pursue opportunities for closer trade and other contacts with the Communists. But the degree of assistance we give them in financing equipment for development should be weighed against:

1. The ability of these countries to invest more of their own capital.
2. The need for these U.S. funds for development here at home.

3. The job and profit opportunities in using such funds for development projects in countries more dependably friendly to the United States.

4. The extent to which contracts may be lost to competing Western suppliers for lack of attractive U.S. financing terms.

We should be wary of ill-founded threats that U.S. failure to provide the requested terms will mean losing contracts to competitors in Western Europe and Japan. It may in some cases, but it may not. Among other factors, the cup of West European and Japanese capital is not exactly running over.

Many Americans, fearful of rising competition from free-world producers, are especially fearful of Communist country exports, made by low-wage labor and under a system that does not permit foreign examination of costs and pricing to determine whether dumping or subsidy has taken place.

Raw materials from these countries are most welcome, and usually accepted duty-free. Tariffs on other goods are high, much higher (except for Poland and Yugoslavia) than the treatment accorded non-Communist suppliers.

Normalizing trade—charging the same tariffs applied to the rest of the world—would help expand imports now blocked by high duties.

#### Long-term possibilities

Some of these imports would pose no problem of competition for U.S. industry. Others, however, might. But such possibilities are more long-term than immediate.

In any event, ways must be found to protect U.S. industries against unfair competition. Adjustment policies are needed to protect U.S. workers and communities unable to cope with fair competition from Communist

or other suppliers with legitimate advantages over U.S. producers.

And international rules of fair competition must include enforceable commitments to basic labor standards, including assurance the standards reflect rising productivity.

#### Clear rules

Russia and other countries of the "East" have played by Western rules when these were clearly established. The Russians have marketed diamonds like a capitalist cartel. Their purchase of a fourth of the U.S. wheat crop at low prices is an embarrassing reminder of their adaptability.

East is East and West is West (to adapt Kipling to another context) and the twain, having already met, should get better acquainted culturally and more closely associated economically. We should seek to foment a new revolution among the Russian people—a revolution of rising expectations. A more liberal East-West trade policy is a major, perhaps the best, route—one we should travel confidently but cautiously.

### CON: EUROPEAN BUSINESSES CHASED ONLY WILL-O'-THE-WISP PROFITS

(By Oscar E. Boline)

Over the past 20 years, many West European businessmen have heeded the will-o'-the-wisp call of East-West trade.

Soon they were bogged down in a mire of scanty profits, confusion, disappointment, and mounting costs. The glitter turned out to be mica, not real gold.

Now the United States is being tempted by the same promise of El Dorado. It too may well be quickly disillusioned.

Back in 1957, Nikita S. Khrushchev promised prosperity to all who would trade with the Soviet Union and its East European bloc. Every European country except Portugal responded eagerly, often pouring public funds into East-West promotion.

#### Generalities plentiful

Agreements full of generalities about big deals and peace and friendship were signed. Trade promotion offices were opened in both East and West Europe. Technical-exchange agreements were signed and joint study groups formed.

At that time, 1958, world exports to the Soviet bloc were almost on a par with those to Norway and Sweden. That is ridiculously low considering the 350 million Soviet-bloc inhabitants and a mere 12 million in the two Scandinavian countries.

Even by 1972 the trade drive put exports to the bloc only slightly above those to Norway and Sweden.

#### Increases compared

During the last five years exports to Norway and Sweden rose 74.23 percent, in step with the total world increase, while those to the Soviet bloc rose only 51.67 percent.

The West Europeans' expectation fell short because they overlooked the well-publicized economic plans and failed to study the aims of the bloc's Communist leaders. These plans rule out a two-way trade, such as West Europe sought and needed for growth.

Americans who look for two-way trade between the Soviet bloc and this country are headed for even greater disappointment than their European counterparts. The reason is, this country has few of the tariff and trade barriers West Europeans maintain to protect their industrial base. These barriers keep out any overflow of products produced by the cheap, controlled labor of the Soviet bloc.

#### Profits, not economy

On the other hand, for Americans content to look for figures showing trade expansion, with little or no regard for the adverse effects of East-West trade on Americans' jobs, Soviet-bloc trade will be just what their economist ordered.

The Communists made it clear, as current



five-year plans and long-term plans were discussed and begun, that every effort would be made to improve domestic output and build a strong industrial base.

How? Western firms would bring multinational operations to the bloc. In these, the firms contribute their latest equipment, technology, markets, etc. The Soviet-bloc firms contribute the plants, cheap labor, and raw materials, the products to be sold almost exclusively in the West.

#### No raw materials

The Communist Party stressed that the bloc must not become an exporter of raw materials. The party does not support untrammelled trade. And free trade is taboo.

In essence the party expects to develop Eastern Europe into an industrial area in which Western firms can manufacture for Western markets, profiting from cheap controlled labor, fixed prices, and abundant raw materials.

To attract Western firms, six types of "cooperative agreements" have been devised. Each is based on the principle of manufacturing in the East a line, or components of a line, of products now manufactured in the West. The agreements range from simple commission work to joint ventures in third countries.

#### Small-scale industries

In 1972 I completed a study on these ventures, which by then had surpassed 600. For the most part they were small-scale operations such as making glassware, or relatively simple operations such as making fibers and labor-intensive apparel.

Most West European firms have been reluctant to accept the cooperative offers. A major reason is nationalistic ties and their governments' stress on preserving the industrial base.

In the mid-1960's Soviet-bloc planners told me they did not expect much from Europeans in developing large-scale industry. Instead they look to the Americans. They cited the growing nonstate character of the American firms, claiming they look only for profit with no regard for the American economy and social structure. Time, they insisted, was on their side.

#### Lures dangled

The disintegration of the dollar and rising Western European production costs are being used by the Soviet-bloc promoters to help attract American manufacturing.

There is an obstacle: the failure of Congress to grant to the Soviets, and some other bloc members, most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment on credit, trade, and tariffs.

The Soviets and other MFN proponents do not publicly state how really essential MFN is to the Soviets. Perhaps they feel a wave of U.S. domestic protectionism would wash away their hopes.

The Kiev tableware and hollowware plants under construction in the Soviet Union are a good example of the tactics being used to obtain MFN. The Soviet request for bank credits to buy American tools and dies to build the plants had the open support of top Washington trade officials. They enthusiastically pointed to this deal as one that would raise the standard of the Russian people, as if to say it would put knives and forks on the tables of Russia.

#### The market: United States

However, after the multimillion-dollar deal to equip several factories had been completed and financing arranged through U.S. banks, the Soviet official who handles consumer-goods exports to the U.S. told me 100 percent of the output was earmarked for the U.S. domestic market. The first deliveries were scheduled for 1976.

Incidentally, the dies the Russians chose were for making traditional U.S. lines. Thus at bicentennial time, gift shops in this country may be selling Paul Revere vases stamped

"Made in the U.S.S.R." The sale will be greatly abetted if Congress grants MFN, as President Nixon has been urging.

The net result to the American economy: An already hard-pressed domestic industry will find it even more difficult to exist—ironically so, via tariff, credit, and financial concessions granted in the name of the American taxpayer.

### UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

#### HON. WILLIAM F. WALSH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, during my first term in the House of Representatives I have been made aware and become very concerned about the plight of thousands of Ukrainians being held political prisoners by the Soviet Union. These people are being tortured and abused solely for their political beliefs and this is contrary to every principle for which the United States stands. At the request of a Ukrainian organization in my congressional district I have written to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger asking him to use his bargaining position with Soviet officials to seek the release of these political prisoners.

The letter I recently received from that Ukrainian organization expresses their plea more eloquently than I can and I would like to share that letter with you:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE  
OF AMERICA, INC.,  
Syracuse, N.Y., October 6, 1974.

Hon. WILLIAM F. WALSH,  
U.S. Congressman, House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM WALSH: We, the undersigned officers of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in Syracuse, N.Y., representing several hundreds of American citizens of Ukrainian origin in our community, appeal to you to intervene with President Ford and the State Department on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners who are barbarously treated in Soviet jails and concentration camps.

In the period between 1970 and 1973 some 600 Ukrainian intellectuals, young men and women, were arrested, tried in secret trials and sentenced to harsh terms of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." In reality, these young men and women are being punished for criticizing the police terror, the Russification of Ukraine and the violations of human rights as defined by the U.S. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet constitution. They are sent to jails, concentration camps and "psychiatric wards" because of their protests against the suppression of national, religious and cultural rights and freedoms.

Among them are two intellectuals, Valentyn Moroz, 38-year-old Ukrainian historian, and Leonid Plyushch, 35-year-old Ukrainian mathematician, who are reported "near death" from starvation and administration of dangerous drugs!

Since July 1, 1974, Valentyn Moroz has been on a hunger strike in Vladimir Prison. He has stated that he will refuse food "until death," unless he is transferred to a concentration camp!

On September 18, 1974, The New York Times reported from Moscow that the Soviet authorities informed Mrs. Raisa Moroz, his

wife, that her husband "was alive" although there were unconfirmed reports that he had died.

Countless organizations and outstanding individuals throughout the world, including a substantial number of leaders of American academic, professional and labor groups, as well as many U.S. legislators have raised their voices in defense of Valentyn Moroz, and demanded his release.

On August 22, the Hon. Robert Taft, Jr. of Ohio, introduced in the U.S. Senate a resolution (S. Res. 392), calling on the U.S. Government to express its concern for "the safety and freedom of Valentyn Moroz."

We appeal to you, Sir, to join Senator Taft as a cosponsor of his resolution, or to sponsor your own resolution calling for the immediate release of Valentyn Moroz, who has been sentenced to 14 years at hard labor, and who has been beaten and tortured because of his refusal to recant his critical views of the Soviet regime in Ukraine.

We ask you, Sir, in the name of justice and humanity, to voice your concern for Valentyn Moroz and urge our government and President Ford to intervene for his release.

Our government has agreed to provide huge economical and technological aid to the USSR. In return we should ask it to at least apply humane treatment to Ukrainian political prisoners, and to release those, like Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plyushch, who are being driven to insanity and slow death.

We urge you again, Sir, to introduce your resolution for the release of Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plyushch. Thank you.

For the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America:

Dr. S. J. KLUFAS,  
President.  
M. MYKYTYN,  
Secretary.

### DOCTOR SUPPLY FACES THREAT—PART III

#### HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, I want to join Dr. Robert Lasher, chief of surgical staff at St. Vincent Hospital, in his opposition to the termination of the residency program at St. Vincent Hospital. I think my colleagues may be interested in two articles printed in the October 30 and November 1, 1973, editions of the Erie Morning News:

HOSPITAL TO CHALLENGE ON RESIDENCY  
(By George Cantoni)

St. Vincent Hospital officials plan to challenge the refusal of a three-group advisory committee to further its sanction of the hospital's surgical residency program.

The surgical residency program at the local hospital was discontinued on July 1, 1972, and, after two appeals, the committee has still refused sanction.

"The three-group committee has never been challenged before," said Dr. Gary Lyons, coordinator of surgical education at St. Vincent, "but we plan to challenge it."

Sr. Mary Margaret, administrator at the hospital, said she hopes to do "whatever can be done to get that residency program back. There is no question that we want to get the residency program back as quickly and as rapidly as possible."

"The surgical residency program is central to the hospital's needs to maintain the quality of physician education and continued quality of medical care," she said.

The residency question is one of several items to be discussed by the state medical board when it meets in Erie Thursday evening at Cannon's Zurn Hall at 7:30 p.m.

Stressing that the loss of sanction does not reflect on the professional competency of the hospital staff, the committee apparently feels the residency program does not provide a high enough level of "educational experience" for the trainee, according to Dr. Lyons.

Dr. Lyons said the three-group committee—made up of representatives of the American Medical Association, the American College of Surgery and the Graduate Committee on Education and Surgery—decided the hospital's surgical residency program was deficient.

After the three-group committee turned down the hospital's reapplication twice, Lyons said he wrote to the Pennsylvania Board of Medical Education and Licensure.

"It's the duty of the state medical board to determine if the program has merit," Dr. Lyons said. "We don't think the (three-group) committee has the legal right to make that judgment. They should serve as a national advisor."

Instead, Lyons said, the Graduate Committee on Education and Surgery "decided they were the creditors for surgery residency programs."

The St. Vincent Hospital official said the American Medical Association "has been sympathetic to the residency program at St. Vincent," especially since Dr. Russell Roth, a staff member at the hospital and president of the national professional body, took up the cause for the local hospital.

"But they can't impose their feelings on another group, and all three have the same amount of power in this thing," Dr. Lyons said.

He said refusing the continuation of the local hospital's residency program was part of a systematic plan to "gradually try to eliminate the community hospital from having any teaching programs."

"We have all the best equipment that any medical university has, but we also have clinical materials—patients. We may not have all the famous researchers, but we have the patients," the hospital official said.

"We hope to establish a medical education environment in this area which will attract young medical men. And we have a handsome core of physicians who would be good teachers—given the opportunity," Dr. Lyons said.

He said a combined residency program in Erie for both St. Vincent and Hamot would provide residents with more teachers, more programs and a broader range of medical problems.

Without the residency program Lyons observed, the quality of medical care in the Erie area will keep going down as physicians retire.

#### **SURGEON HITS END OF ST. VINCENT RESIDENCY PROGRAM** (By George Cantoni)

The chief of surgical staff at St. Vincent Hospital said officials are "going to go as far as we can" to get back the hospital's residency training program in general surgery.

But the controversial battle, challenging the right of a national advisory body to prohibit a medical education program at the hospital, is apparently going to be fought without support from Hamot Medical Center.

Dr. Robert Lasher, St. Vincent surgeon, said the hospital had been trying since 1971 to convert its three-year residency program into a four-year program, as stipulated under recent guidelines, before turning to the Pennsylvania State Board of Medical Education and Licensure for help in saving its program.

The national advisory review committee refused the hospital's application and reapplications three times.

"But during that two and one-half year period we made quite a few changes and improvements," Dr. Lasher said, "yet we continued to get the same type of response out of Chicago."

Dr. Lasher said the review committees have been "inconsistent" in appraising of the hospital's ability to provide adequate medical education programs.

"The review committee of general surgery said our education program was not adequate, but the review committee on colon and rectal surgery—a sub-specialty of our general surgery program—approved a new residence program in the area," Dr. Lasher said.

"Here we have two of these national advisory committees—one taking a residency program away and the other giving us a program," the St. Vincent physician said. "It doesn't make sense."

"Yet there is no appeal of this committee's decision," Dr. Lasher said. "We can't sit down with them and argue points that are so vague we can't find out what they are talking about."

William H. Ennis, administrator at Hamot Medical Center, said Hamot officials are staying out of the controversy. "We're pretty well secured," he said.

Dr. Lasher apparently disagrees with the Hamot administrator, saying, "This doesn't only involve St. Vincent Hospital in general surgery."

"St. Vincent Hospital has been trying to get a residency in internal medicine for years, and all we've been getting is a big run-around," Dr. Lasher said. He said Hamot is getting the same run-around in its requests for residency programs in internal medicine and family practice.

The St. Vincent surgeon said the two hospitals have joint residency programs in obstetrics-gynecology, urology and colon and rectal surgery.

Dr. Lasher sees the "battle" as a philosophical one between the university medical set-up and the community hospital medical education program. "But the review committee is basically made up of university surgeons," he said. "This is the crux of the situation."

Sr. Mary Margaret, St. Vincent administrator, said, "We certainly hope the need for either a reinstatement of St. Vincent's residency program or a joint residency with Hamot is a matter that has brought community support."

#### **MR. CRONIN CALLS FOR POST OFFICE REORGANIZATION**

#### **HON. PAUL W. CRONIN**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. CRONIN. Mr. Speaker, I speak to you today on a subject of great importance not only to the Fifth District of Massachusetts but to all the American people—the U.S. Postal Service. Unfortunately, the recent reorganization of the U.S. Postal Service into a large new private corporation did not solve its problems. Once again, the U.S. Postal Service needs to be overhauled.

During the last week of August I visited 15 towns in my district and talked to city and postal officials in each. I listened to officials in Westford, Groton, Pepperell, North Reading, Wilmington,

Billerica, Lowell, Lexington, Bedford, Concord, Acton, Littleton, Tewksbury, Dracut, and Lawrence. For example, in one town I discovered that 10,000 excise tax bills were mailed out, and a few hours later 5,000 were returned "Undeliverable." In addition, one of my constituents did not receive her property tax bill until 2 days before it was due, and as a result, she almost lost her home. Just recently a letter came to my office from a constituent in Acton, who registered and insured a letter in May for \$3,000. The letter was lost within the Acton Post Office and never even left the building. This constituent, despite the many letters he has written, has never received his \$3,000 or any satisfaction at all from the post office.

There is room for blame in many areas of the postal system. However, after my interviews I came to the conclusion that it is much more important to solve the problems than to assign blame. I found most postal employees at the local level giving their very best many times under very trying circumstances. Unfortunately, there is a disturbing lack of professionalism in the upper levels of the postal system. What is needed are fewer political appointees at the top and more postal professionals, not businessmen, who have had much experience at the local level. Under the old system the Postmaster General was a political appointee with postal professionals under him that got the work done. Now we have businessmen as the political appointees at all the upper management levels and no postal professionals, and the work is not getting done.

I encountered more problems when the local post offices were controlled by a metropolitan post office—Boston, in this case—than when the post offices were autonomous. Perhaps, this could be an area for reform—more locally controlled post offices.

The U.S. Postal Service is constantly in the public eye, and one mistake can be disastrous despite the fact that their overall record may be much better. The public always remembers the problems and takes the good service for granted. I am submitting a report to the U.S. Postal Service explaining my findings and my hope that reform can be promptly and successfully instituted. I thank you for the opportunity to speak to you today concerning the U.S. Postal Service.

#### **SCRUBBERS—FACT AND FICTION**

#### **HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, and this right is one that I have frequently had reason to appreciate. Yet under the name of freedom of speech, a group of monopoly electric power suppliers is conducting a campaign to discredit the Federal agency responsible for protecting the public from



harmful air pollution. They are conducting this campaign with the money they have received from their captive customers, and using their money against the overall best interests of their customers. I do not think that their right to conduct this type of campaign should be abridged, but their use of quasi-public funds should certainly be restricted. I consider the advertising barrage of the American Electric Power System an offensive, political, propaganda campaign that adds nothing to the real efforts to meet energy needs without impairing the health of humans.

It has been said by the industry that the Environmental Protection Agency's emission standards are not necessary to protect the public health. But new studies have shown that the standards are necessary to protect the public health. Increased electric power production will have to be a priority second to protecting the public health, and this limitation will require a greater amount of energy conservation.

Those who do not believe that the EPA's standards are necessary should read the ever-increasing literature on health effects of air pollution. The "Report to the Task Force on Conservation and Fuel Supply," which was prepared by the Technical Advisory Committee on Conservation of Energy for the U.S. Federal Power Commission is one such report. I quote from that paper:

In summary, present rough estimates conclude that substantial excess adverse health effects can be expected each year if standards are not met: thousands of premature deaths, millions of days of illness among susceptible segments of the population, hundreds of thousands of needless acute lower respiratory illnesses in otherwise healthy children and hundreds of thousands of chronic respiratory disorders among adults. (Emphasis added.)

If these adverse health effects, which I consider an unacceptable level of violence to inflict upon the American people, are to be averted, the sulfur oxide and particulate emissions must be sharply curtailed. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has concluded that flue gas desulfurization systems must be installed in some plants in order to prevent the violation of the primary ambient air quality standards.

The American Electric Power System recently claimed that—

Flue gas desulfurization has not been demonstrated to be a method of sulfur-dioxide control presently available for implementation by Electric Utilities.

This claim was reportedly taken from a hearing examiners' report before the Ohio State Environmental Protection Agency. The basic frame of reference for that finding, which was one of 26 by the Ohio hearing examiners, was that there were other available means to meet the Federal ambient air quality standards. The report, limited as it was, still did not contend that the standards should not be met. In fact, they found the opposite; the standards should be met.

The EPA, it should be noted, does not contend that flue gas desulfurization technology, or scrubbers, need to be installed where the standards can be met by alternative means. They have con-

tended, with ample evidence to support their position, that flue gas desulfurization technology, when and where needed, should be installed. The conclusion of the EPA is worth note at this time:

Based on flue gas desulfurization operating experience to date, the availability of commercial methods to treat sludge wastes, and the rapidly growing commitment to utility companies to install FGD, no other conclusion can be reached than that flue gas desulfurization systems are available and can be used to continuously, reliably, and effectively control sulfur oxide emissions from power plants.

This conclusion is taken from a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency report, "Flue Gas Desulfurization," which was published this last September. Because I believe this important issue should not be distorted by a media propaganda campaign, I insert the introduction from this EPA report in the RECORD.

The excerpts from the EPA report follow:

#### FLUE GAS DESULFURIZATION—INSTALLATIONS AND OPERATIONS

##### INTRODUCTION

From October 18 to November 2, 1973, the Environmental Protection Agency held a national public hearing in the Washington, D.C. area to review the status of power plant compliance with sulfur oxide ( $SO_x$ ) air pollution emission limitations. Regulations limiting emissions of  $SO_x$  have been imposed because excess quantities of  $SO_x$  seriously affect human health through increased incidences of respiratory disease and damage many types of materials. The national hearing was called because power plants are the largest source of  $SO_x$  emissions in the U.S., because large numbers of power plants were not yet in compliance with  $SO_x$  emission limitations, and because, in most cases, only 1½ years remained under the established implementation plans for these plants to achieve compliance.

During the hearing, testimony was taken from some 50 witnesses representing electric utilities, trade associations, vendors of pollution control equipment, and other interested groups and individuals. It was generally agreed by these witnesses that flue gas desulfurization (FGD) technology must be installed on large numbers of power plants if  $SO_x$  emission requirements adopted pursuant to the Clean Air Act are to be met in the 1970's. Supplies of low-sulfur fuels are and will continue to be inadequate to provide the sole means of compliance.

It was also generally agreed to the hearing that FGD systems, when operating properly, would reduce  $SO_x$  emissions by 85 to 90%, the levels required by most states. Questions were, however, raised by many utilities as to whether FGD systems could be made to operate reliably and as to whether an environmentally acceptable method existed to dispose of the sludge produced by some types of FGD systems.

After considering the testimony, the hearing panel found that the problems allegedly affecting FGD reliability could be, and had been, solved at one plant or another, and that reliability was sufficiently demonstrated to warrant widespread commitments by utilities to FGD systems at coal- and oil-fired power plants. The panel recommended that EPA create an incentive for such commitments by vigorously enforcing reasonable schedules to comply with sulfur oxide emission limits. The panel additionally found that technology was available to reclaim sludge waste as landfill and that regenerable systems that do not produce any appreciable waste were available for use where throw-away systems could not be used.

At the time of the hearing, there were 44 FGD systems either in operation, under construction, or being planned by 23 utilities at 26 plants. Only 10 of these systems were operational, 16 under construction, and 18 planned; 8 of those under construction were projected to start up by the end of 1974.

#### FGD INSTALLATION STATUS

Nearly 1 year has elapsed since the public hearing and it is appropriate to review the present status of FGD installation as an indication of the effectiveness of the hearing and EPA's follow-up program and as an indication of the continued validity of the hearing panel's conclusions.

The data covering the present status of FGD installations follows in Tables I through V. The total number of FGD units operational, under construction, or otherwise committed to has more than doubled over this year—to 93 systems at 51 plants by 39 utilities. The number of units now on-line has jumped to 19, and three additional systems are scheduled to start-up by December. In addition to the 19 operating units, 14 are now being constructed, and electric utilities have decided to install 60 more systems. Contracts have already been awarded for 17 of these 60 planned units; letters of intent have been signed for 4; bids are being taken for 7; engineering studies are underway for 17; and preliminary plans are continuing for 15.

The bulk of the 93 units will have started-up by the end of 1977. Aside from the 19 operating units and the 3 units scheduled to start-up this year, companies are projecting start-up dates of 1975 for 10 units, 1976 for 12 units, and 1977 for 19 more. The remaining 30 desulfurization systems will begin operation in 1978 or 1979, or have unknown start-up dates. Many of these 93 units are associated with new plants (47) and their installation is tied to the start-up dates of the plants.

#### FGD OPERATING EXPERIENCE

Recent operating experience with FGD systems has demonstrated increasingly high reliability factors with the elimination of the problems that plagued many of the early systems. Increasingly higher reliability (availability to the boiler) factors are seen both for those units recently started-up and for those units with longer operating experience. Several of these units showing high availability factors for several months can be characterized as very successful; other units, which are yet in experimental stages or still undergoing shakedown and/or adjustment, are also evidencing increasingly reliable performance. Only one type of FGD system has proven too troublesome to warrant further installations.

Many problems have, of course, been experienced with FGD system operation, particularly with earlier installations. Efforts to resolve these problems have naturally lead to improvements in system design and operation and to subsequent improvements in reliability. This clear trend to highly reliable, long-term FGD operation is best illustrated by reviewing the experience at each of the operating units.

Two of the earlier FGD installations, a lime scrubbing system and a magnesium oxide system, can be characterized as very successful by their recently demonstrated reliabilities. Louisville Gas and Electric Company's (LG&E) lime scrubbing system installed on its Paddy's Run No. 6 station started-up in April 1973 and operated until October 1973 at 70% availability to the boiler; from October until shutdown in December 1973, avail-

<sup>1</sup> This April to October 1973 availability factor must be viewed with caution since the boiler was down much of this time and the FGD system, while available to the boiler, was run only intermittently.

ability was greater than 90%. Because Pad-day's Run No. 6 is a peak-load boiler, the boiler, and consequently the scrubber, was shutdown in December because of a low demand for electricity. Increased demand caused LG&E to restart the boiler, controlled by the FGD system, in July 1974. Since the recent start-up, the unit has been operating at 100% availability, burning 3% sulfur coal with an  $\text{SO}_x$  removal efficiency of 90%. Early problems with this closed-loop system, which were minor and mechanical in nature, have been solved. This company is so convinced of the workability of its system, which has operated for 5 months at over 90% reliability, that it is committed to the installation of similar control systems on several additional boilers.

A recently completed 2-year FGD test project conducted by the Boston Edison Company at its oil-burning Mystic station has also been successful. Since start-up in April 1972, this 150-megawatt magnesium-oxide scrubber, which is a regenerable system producing sulfuric acid as a by-product, has experienced most of the typical process and mechanical problems. During the first year of operation, Chemico, the vendor, constantly worked on and corrected these problems. Over this period, the scrubber was available to the boiler only 17% of the time. Efficiency, however, indicated 90% sulfur oxide removal using 20% virgin magnesium oxide and 80% regenerated magnesium oxide. Beginning in June of 1973, reliability figures reached 68%, but declined slowly to 13% in December due to deterioration of the equipment from erosion and corrosion. The problems occurring pointed out the need to carefully control the chemistry of the system, and in January and February of 1974, the company and the vendor extensively overhauled the system. By March the system was 87% available to the boiler. Availability figures recently obtained were: April—81%, May—57%, and June—80%. Despite the good availability figures shown, the system was shutdown as scheduled because the 2-year test period was completed. Boston Edison seems generally satisfied with the efficiency and reliability of its Mag-Ox scrubbing unit, has been quoted as calling it "a viable technology for our particular purpose,"<sup>2</sup> and is still considering whether it will install flue gas scrubbing systems on its other boilers.

Several of the more recently installed units have demonstrated very high reliability factors for several months and are not troubled with many of the problems experienced at some of the earlier installations. One of these successful units is a 32-megawatt double alkali system designed and operated by General Motors at its Parma Chevy Transmission plant in Cleveland. With an  $\text{SO}_x$  removal efficiency of 98%, the system has been available to the boiler 100% of operating time in June, July, and August 1974. Availability at start-up in April was 87%, but the scrubber was shutdown for the month of May because of unexpected pluggage by calcium carbonate deposits in the overflow line between the clarifiers and in the line from one of the clarifiers to the mix tanks; this subsequently caused overflow into the scrubber. This problem was solved during shutdown by using a polymeric flocculating agent to improve settleability and by withdrawing sludge from the clarifier more frequently. The scrubber has operated continuously since May 29 except for brief, non-scrubber related shutdowns.

Two other companies, which started-up their scrubbing units late in 1973, are also showing good performance. Arizona Public Service Co. (APS) started-up its 115-megawatt limestone scrubber designed by Re-

search-Cottrell in December 1973. This 2-module scrubber averaged 89% availability for the 7 months from January through July 1974; module A ( $\text{SO}_x$  and particulate scrubbing) availability was 92% and module B (particulate scrubbing only) availability was 87%. Downtime was used to correct wiring, meter calibration, reheater vibration, and instrumentation problems and to repair leaks, packing glands, and reheater tube bundles. Acid condensation on the reheater tubes was solved by proper insulation, and cross baffles installed at the inlet stopped reheater vibration. System availability climbed to 93% in August after these problems were solved, and module A alone showed an availability factor of 98%.  $\text{SO}_x$  removal efficiency remained at about 92%.

Southern California Edison (SCE) started-up their 160-megawatt experimental lime scrubber in November 1973 on their Mohave unit No. 2. The system was designed by the company in conjunction with Stearns-Roger and SCE has taken over as the operating agent. This lime scrubber is half of a two-part experimental program that the company will use to decide whether it will use a lime or limestone system at its Mohave station. A 160-megawatt vertical limestone system designed by Universal Oil Products is now being constructed on Mohave No. 1 and results from this unit will be compared to experience with the Mohave No. 2 lime scrubber. The limestone system was scheduled to start-up in January 1974 in order to parallel experience at No. 2, but extensive unrelated fire damage has delayed start-up at least until October 1974.

The formal test program for Mohave No. 2 began on January 15, 1974, and the horizontal absorber has to date operated continuously at 84% availability to the boiler.

Operating experience at some of the earliest units, notably those boiler injection type units at Kansas Power and Light's Lawrence station and Kansas City Power and Light's Hawthorne station, has not been satisfactory. Both of these companies experimented with two limestone boiler injection systems using 3.5% sulfur coal. Problems with this type of system included corrosion, plugging, scaling, settling, and reheater/demister difficulties, and proved substantially more difficult than those found with tail-end type FGD systems. The companies have decided to convert their scrubbers to tail-end scrubbing with limestone and EPA knows of no plans for additional units of the boiler injection type.

Kansas City Power and Light has already converted its Hawthorne No. 4 100-megawatt scrubber to tail-end, and seems to have eliminated many of the problems it experienced with injection. A few problems remain with the recirculation system but modifications are expected to solve these problems. Combustion Engineering says that the tail-end system has operated since February 1974 with no major problems, although the demister must be cleaned by hand during boiler downtime.

Varying degrees of success are being obtained with the rest of the scrubbing units now operating. In many cases the units have not been on-line long enough to fully evaluate their performance. From the limestone systems that could be termed less successful to date than Arizona Public Service's Cholla installation, several crucial operating problems have been resolved. Kansas City Power and Light, for instance, installed an 820-megawatt system at LaCynge No. 1 that started up in June 1973. Proper design and operation of this unit is complicated by the fact that it must remove large amounts of both particulate and  $\text{SO}_x$  that result from the burning of coal having especially high sulfur and ash contents. In addition, this system was built without any means to by-

pass the scrubber.<sup>3</sup> Its initial problems are nearly all attributable to poor pH control, further emphasizing the importance of proper control of system chemistry for lime and limestone systems.

The City of Key West, operating a 37-megawatt scrubber that collects both particulates and  $\text{SO}_x$ , has found that one of its major problems is controlling dust from its unique coral grinding system.

The 2-scrubber system at Commonwealth Edison's Will County station, started-up in February 1972, showed rather poor availability factors due to many problems in the first 2 years of operation. Scrubber B was shutdown in April 1973 for internal modifications, but scrubber A has shown marked improvement recently. Availability was 72% in April of this year and 93% in May. A plugged venturi throat caused some downtime in June, but following repairs, the unit operated at 95% availability in July and 91% in August. Although Commonwealth Edison has experienced many problems at Will County, recent operation shows good signs for reliable long-term operation.

Experience at operating lime-scrubbing systems other than the successful performance at LG&E's Paddy's Run unit and Southern California Edison's Mohave unit, cannot be fully assessed at this time. Duquesne Light's Phillips 410-megawatt scrubber, on-line only for a few months, has achieved availability factors for modules 1 and 4 which were better than 70% from start-up through June. Duquesne is presently concentrating the load on these two modules and plans to place the full plant capacity on all 4 modules in the future.

Dairyland Power Corp. has been running its Alma lime-injection unit since August 1971, but only as a research system. Short test runs at 90% availability have been conducted, but no longer runs have been conducted from which reliability might be ad-

duced. EPA is funding a 30-megawatt research unit being operated by TVA on its Shawnee No. 10 boiler. It is designed to use lime, limestone, sodium carbonate, or air/water as the scrubbing medium and has been operating under experimental conditions since April 1972. There are 3 different types of scrubbing systems operating in parallel that are still being evaluated under a variety of operational modes.

Aside from Boston Edison's successful Mystic unit, only one other magnesium-oxide system is now in operation. This 100-megawatt scrubber, also designed by Chemico, is being operated by Potomac Electric Power Company at Dickerson No. 3. Start-up took place in September 1973, but full operation was not begun until July 1974 when the regeneration facility became available. This system represents the first large-scale application of the magnesium-oxide process to a coal-fired boiler.

Illinois Power Company has at its Wood River station the only catalytic oxidation system operating in the U.S. The 110-megawatt scrubber designed by Monsanto started-up in September 1972 and was accepted from the vendor after completion of testing in July 1973. Mechanical difficulties experienced during shakedown called for modifications which are now nearly complete. The scrubber is scheduled to start-up for continued operation this month.

The Nevada Power Company is now testing two aqueous sodium base scrubbers at its Reid Gardner station and will start-up a

<sup>3</sup> As recognized by the national hearing panel, bypass systems should be installed on scrubbing systems to make it easier to repair and adjust the system and to ensure that generating capacity is not lost during possible malfunction.

<sup>2</sup> *Electrical Week*, July 29, 1974, p. 7.



third unit there next year. The 125-megawatt units have only been on-line for a short time but excellent test results have already been cited and performance seems promising.

#### SLUDGE DISPOSAL

It is recognized that large quantities of semi-solid sludge are produced by lime and limestone scrubbing systems and that this sludge must be carefully disposed of to avoid any adverse impact on the environment. EPA does not view sludge disposal as an insurmountable problem, however, since disposal methods are now offered commercially that treat sludge in an environmentally acceptable manner. Wet sludge can be hardened (fixated) through chemical reactions to form a dry, solid, largely inert material or it can be ponded.

Although fixation technologies are offered commercially, many companies have been temporarily ponding sludge while concentrating on improving reliabilities of their FGD systems. Now that scrubber operating problems are being solved and system reliabilities are improving, more sludge is being generated by lime/limestone units and utilities are beginning to focus more attention on techniques for disposing of sludge. For example, full-scale sludge fixation is now underway at at least two U.S. power plants. Commonwealth Edison fixates sludge from its Will County scrubber and stores the product on-site. The company plans to ultimately dispose of the sludge in an off-site landfill area. Duquesne Light is now fixating sludge from three boilers at the Phillips plant. This fixated sludge is temporarily stored in on-site ponds, then hauled to off-site lined ponds for disposal. It is ultimately planned to dispose of this fixated sludge in unlined ravines. In addition, a prototype facility at Southern California Edison's Mohave stations fixates the sludge, discharging part of the treated sludge to a concrete-line disposal site. The remaining sludge is used to manufacture aggregate pellets which can be used as a concrete admixture.

Chemically fixated sludge has several uses, the most important of which is landfill. Numerous landfill sites are available in the U.S., especially in areas where coal has been strip-mined. Fixated sludge can be used to restore such land to its original condition. Limited use is possible in such other applications as roadbase.

Wet sludge can also be ponded, and where leaching into ground or surface water is feared, ponds can be lined with an impermeable liner or constructed with a drainage system to collect and isolate any leachate.

Sludge disposal problems occur, however, only with lime and limestone scrubbing systems. Where disposal of such sludges is impractical because of geographic location, space availability, or other considerations, alternative FGD systems can be used. Regenerable systems, such as magnesium-oxide, catalytic oxidation, and Wellman-Lorn processes, do not produce sludge. Rather, these systems regenerate the scrubbing agent and produce such valuable materials as sulfuric acid and elemental sulfur.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The past year has seen a major increase (over 100%) in the commitment of utilities to the installation of FGD controls. While the commitment to control 35,000 megawatts of generating capacity is still short of the need,<sup>4</sup> it represents a rapidly growing acceptance by utilities of the need for and workability of FGD controls.

<sup>4</sup>In the national hearing panel's report, EPA estimated that to meet primary ambient air quality standards and new source performance standards through 1980 the use of some 90,000 megawatts of FGD control would be required.

While a few utilities continue to argue that FGD systems have not yet demonstrated reliable operation, actual experience over the past few months clearly refutes these claims. Experiences at Louisville Gas and Electric, Arizona Public Service, and Southern California Edison are illustrative. LG&E's Paddy's Run unit has been available to the boiler for a total of 5 months at well over 90% reliability. APS's Cholla unit has operated continuously for 8 months with a reliability of 90% or better, and SCE's Mohave unit has operated continuously from January to September 1974 at 84% reliability.

Based on FGD operating experience to date, the availability of commercial methods to treat sludge wastes, and the rapidly growing commitment of utility companies to install FGD, no other conclusion can be reached than that flue gas resulfurization systems are available and can be used to continuously, reliably, and effectively control sulfur oxide emissions from power plants.

#### DOCTOR SUPPLY FACES THREAT

### HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, the Erie community faces a medical problem that grows more serious daily. Immediately, Erie faces a severe shortage of general practice physicians. Ultimately, it faces a complete downgrading of medical care. This is a problem that cannot be solved by building new hospital wings, renovating old ones, or by mouthing sweet-sounding but insincere platitudes. Only the total cooperation of Erie's entire medical community and the intelligent awareness of area citizens can begin to cope with this increasingly critical situation.

On February 27, 1974, a series began in the Erie Morning News entitled "Medical Probe." The purpose of this series was to inform Erie area residents about the crisis in medical service within the community and to offer some reasons why the crisis exists. That the "Medical Probe" was an ambitious effort should be apparent from examining the following statistics.

"Probe" was conducted by only two staff reporters, Dave Tabolt and Marty Gallagher who is also assistant city editor of the News. They worked 7 to 8 weeks gathering information and statistics and conducting interviews. The "Probe" investigation included over a hundred separate interviews with authorities all over the country. Volumes of statistics were culled by the reporters and cooperating hospital staffs and many medical journals and texts were researched for background material. The completed series ran for 20 installments, beginning February 27, 1974, and concluding March 21. It represented the first in-depth series with that format to appear in Erie papers.

This investigation was in response to very real events which occurred months before, the consequences of which continue to threaten the quality of health care throughout the community. It was

also in response to at least one constructive proposal which would benefit the health care field in Erie.

On October 30, and November 1, 1973, articles appeared in the Morning News announcing the intention of St. Vincent Hospital officials to challenge the authority of the Chicago-based Residency Review Committee for General Surgery that had refused to sanction the hospital's surgical residency program. This board, in the past, had also stood in the way of other area hospitals' residency programs. St. Vincent's contention was that this committee had assumed powers it did not rightfully possess—powers which belonged, in truth, to the Pennsylvania State Board of Medical Education and Licensure. Furthermore, the prohibition of the residency program was viewed as crippling to the hospital's ability to "maintain physician education and continued quality of medical care for patients."

On November 2, 1973, another article appeared in the News telling of a proposal by Pennsylvania Secretary of Health, J. Finton Speller, for a "medical school without walls" for the Erie area. This would be a project involving complete cooperation of local hospitals and colleges. The idea also had the immediate support of all members of the state medical education board. If the idea comes to fruition, Erie could expect to attract a good many medical students, some of whom would hopefully make Erie their home.

Therefore, in order to objectively ascertain the facts behind the controversy over area residencies and to inform the public of both the impending crisis and of possible solutions being proffered, as well as to broadly survey the health care field in Erie, the Morning News undertook its lengthy investigation and presentation. The following is a brief summary of "Medical Probe's" most significant findings.

First, and of central importance: the number of general practitioners in the Erie area is steadily declining and, at the same time, their average age is growing older. A majority of the "Probe" articles speak to either the reasons behind this or to the ramifications of it.

The decline, "Probe" concludes, is the result of the inability to attract young medical school students to Erie hospitals. Outside agencies, controlled principally by medical "academia," and possessing no legal authority over local medical decisions, are exercising coercive powers to close out local residency programs. Their reason ostensibly is because the programs are service-oriented rather than classroom oriented. Threat of academic failure for the medical students who ignore their dictates and participate in any disenfranchised residency program is the principal source of their power to command obedience. There are 23 of these autonomous, private, residency review committees.

The result is that most students are lured into remaining with the school medical centers and specializing instead of going into general practice. Erie and communities like Erie who have large

populations but with no medical school are therefore suffering a severe shortage of physicians.

Consequently, "Probe" continues, the few GP's around are working intolerable hours and have had to refuse to accept any new patients, patients are being subjected to cold, impersonal treatment, and emergency rooms are overcrowded with nonemergency patients who have no doctor of their own. Also, academics, of necessity, must take a backseat to service because physicians simply have no time for structural classroom type teaching. Students must learn by observing. Osteopaths, foreign doctors in local residencies, emergency rooms, and "assembly-line" type clinics—the few that remain open—are giving competent aid but it is still not enough.

Compounding the problem is insurance company paperwork and the current big-business attitude in hospital management, both of which entangle the physician in a web of administrative duties that take valuable time from their medical practice.

Again compounding the problem is the apparent inability of Erie's medical community to overcome its parochialism and join in a combined effort to get joint hospital residency programs off the ground. "Probe" found this reputation for professional jealousy between local hospitals to be a major obstacle to outside academic support.

Testament to the accuracy and fairness of this "Medical Probe" series was made by officials at three large Erie hospitals. Mr. Tomkins, in charge of community relations for St. Vincent Hospital, stated that the investigation was conducted "honestly and in an evenhanded manner." A Hamot hospital administrator, who wished to remain anonymous, felt the probe "served the purpose" and "created an awareness" in the community. He also felt the series was definitely conducted honestly and that there was no question as to the integrity of the reporters. Mr. Ralph Kelch, administrative director of Doctor's Osteopathic Hospital, stated that:

The accuracy and insight of the two reporters were all that could be expected.

He went on to say he felt the reporters performed a vital service to the community and to the medical profession in Erie.

It seems necessary to point out that the task of a responsible newspaper in an age as complex as this we live in must be not only to appraise its reading public of significant events happening within their community but also to fairly interpret those often complicated events in a way which makes them understandable to the average reader. When the subject of such interpretive reporting happens to be the adequacy and extent of a community's medical coverage, the individual journalists have an even greater responsibility for accurate, indepth investigation and interpretation. The "Probe" reporters, Marty Gallagher and Dave Tabolt, accepted that responsibility and performed with a professional excellence that is a credit to journalism.

In considering this example of journalistic responsibility and in considering the task yet confronting Erie medical men, the words of John Milton in his *Areopagitica* seem particularly appropriate:

When complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained, that wise men look for.

The complaints have been heard. Now it is time a determined joint effort be made, with petty jealousies set aside, to establish that "medical school without walls," to ultimately increase the number of general practitioners, and to improve the overall quality of health care for the citizens of the Erie area.

For your consideration I am inserting an article from the October 1, 1974, Erie Morning News concerning the severe shortage of general practice physicians in Erie:

#### DOCTOR SUPPLY FACES THREAT

Erie's medical future may be even more bleak than we thought.

The News pointed out several weeks ago that "almost 80 per cent" of the interns and residents in training at Hamot Medical Center and St. Vincent Hospital are graduates of foreign medical schools.

We've since reviewed the latest directories of the two hospitals and found that FMGs account for 86 per cent of the intern-resident staffs.

This is compared to a 33 per cent national average.

The local directory reads like a United Nations roster: India (12), Syria (9), Iran (8), two each from Ceylon, Egypt, Taiwan, Philippines, Colombia and Iraq and one each from Burma, Lebanon, W. Pakistan, Korea, Portugal, Mexico and Brazil. Only eight local interns and residents are graduates of medical schools in the United States.

As we've pointed out before, Erie has been fortunate in a sense because it has attracted some top graduates from foreign medical schools but how long that type of recruiting can continue is doubtful.

The magazine Medical World News recently observed, "Congressional health leaders and the Association of American Medical Colleges have agreed in principle to limit the number of internships and residencies to 'slightly' above the output of U.S. medical schools."

"That would shut out some 90 per cent of FMGs coming here under present rules."

Who's going to provide care in local hospitals when FMGs are no longer available?

Unless Hamot and St. Vincent quickly established joint training programs affiliated with medical schools, the staffs here will wither—and everyone in the community will suffer.

#### HAMTRAMCK STRIVES TO RETAIN ITS POLISH CHARACTER

#### HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the legendary Hamtramck, Mich., is my hometown and birthplace. I remain sentimentally attached to it.

Accordingly, I am pleased to place in the Record a long article which appeared

in the October 6 New York Times which captures much of the flavor of this still vigorous city.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record the article follows:

#### HAMTRAMCK STRIVES TO RETAIN ITS POLISH CHARACTER

(By William K. Stevens)

HAMTRAMCK, MICH., October 5.—They once called it "the Wild West of the Middle West," this 2.09-square-mile island of Slavic zest, an autonomous city surrounded by Detroit, a tight little village where for more than half a century the Polish-Americans have loved, hated, worked hard in their yards and on the assembly line, and lived life with gusto.

Starting in 1910 they came from the farms of Poland, and sometimes from the Ukraine, to work at "Dodge Main," the Chrysler Corporation's huge assembly plant that still dominates the southern end of town. By the late nineteen-twenties, they had so filled Hamtramck that it was said to be the most densely populated city in the country.

The boom days are long gone. The second and third generations have largely moved to the suburbs, and Hamtramck has only half as many inhabitants (26,000) as at its peak about 1930. This has brought the city to a crucial stage in its history, and therein lies one chapter in the story of social change that is overtaking industrial America.

#### A RUN ON LEECHES

Hamtramck's Polish flavor remains. At Jaworski's market, wonderfully wrinkled grandmothers in babushkas still shop for herring, fresh okra, parsley, dill and leek; for black radishes, barley and kasha (buckwheat); for peppers and sorrel and cabbage; for kielbasa and kiszka the pungent Polish sausages; for the seeds with which to plant the backyard gardens that are the heirs to the fields of old Poland.

Until a few weeks ago, Jezewski's pharmacy sold leeches, the old-world remedy for a black eye. Every Saturday morning, after the Friday night bar fights, there would be a run on the leeches.

Hamtramck, has long been seen from outside as a volatile, rough-and-ready, sometimes troubled town—a vice den in the twenties and thirties, when two of its mayors were sent to prison on anticorruption charges and once, it is said, the City Council President pulled a gun on the mayor in a Council meeting. Once the city had two police chiefs, each backed by a rival faction sharing the chief's desk as friends. In 1971, the city government went bankrupt or nearly so, depending on whose analysis one accepts.

Detroiters have at times reacted gleefully to Hamtramck's troubles—sometimes, it is said here, so that attention would be diverted from Detroit's difficulties. It is unfair, Hamtramckans say. What happened here happened in some form everywhere in the country, they assert.

Now there is a new setback for Hamtramck, and it is resented by the fiercely proud community.

The United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit upheld last week a lower court decision finding Hamtramck guilty of "Negro removal" in its urban renewal policies.

The courts held that the city had demolished sub-standard housing in areas inhabited primarily by blacks, but were not providing new housing within Hamtramck for displaced residents. As a result, the court said the black population of the city had fallen from 14 percent to 8.5 percent. This, it was held, had been the city's intention and it was ordered that the city provide housing for most of those displaced.

#### WE'RE DECENT PEOPLE

The citizens and their acting Mayor, William V. Kozerski, object to charges of racism.



"It hurts," he says, "because we're not what they claim we are. We're decent people."

Hamtramck's record in race relations in fact, has in some ways been outstanding compared with many other communities.

While one could hardly contend that prejudice and discrimination are unknown here, blacks have lived here as long as the Poles, the public schools have been integrated for decades, and opinion surveys have shown blacks to be happy here. Flaxen-haired Slavic and black youths can be seen intermingling on the street.

Richard Stovall, a 22-year-old black auto worker who has lived here all his life, said the other day that he had grown up side by side with Polish friends, that they went to parties together, and that it had always been like that. Hamtramck, he said, has been "one big happy family."

Other blacks say the same, as do many whites even those who speak in the most virulent terms about "Detroit blacks." One reason may be the smallness of the town, its old-world village quality, its sense of community.

Community identity focuses on the Roman Catholic churches, the numerous Polish-American clubs and its sports teams. Some years ago, Hamtramck won the Little League World Series. Its teams, thoroughly integrated, remain strong. Jane Bartkiewicz Krot, the professional tennis player, is a local heroine.

The shops, banks and utility companies that line Joseph Campau Street, the main thoroughfare, are within walking distance of the immaculately kept one-and-two-family homes on postage-stamp plots, typically with wrought-iron railings and posts that wall the town.

"You feel better here, said 79-year-old John Wozniak, a retired auto worker who immigrated from Poland in 1913. "I know every stone in this sidewalk. I could go to Florida, but everything would be strange. You feel like home here."

Most Hamtramck residents are older people. This poses major questions as to the city's future and offers a clue as to what the urban renewal decisions means to that future.

The people wonder whether Hamtramck's Polish character can be preserved after Mr. Wozniak's generation is gone. They worry that it will die from lack of tending by the second- and third-generation Poles who now are thoroughly Americanized as their parents and grandparents wanted them to be and live in the suburbs.

The city fathers say they want fervently to lure back the young people, who often return to the old neighborhood on weekends to visit and shop. City officials had planned to use the cleared urban-renewal land for, among other things, split-level homes for returnees from the suburbs.

The courts, however, have ruled that this cannot be done at the expense of those already living there. Some observers, however, express hope that the good condition and low price of housing (\$50 a month for a decent apartment is common and a \$14,000 house is considered expensive) will bring back many young people who are being priced out of housing markets elsewhere by inflation. There is some evidence that this is already happening.

Some see in Hamtramck a potential as a regional center for the preservation and perpetuation of Polish culture. The Detroit Workingman's Co-Op, a Polish-Ukrainian restaurant that once was a haven for union organizers in the auto industry, might be one element of such a center.

It draws from throughout the metropolitan area customers who like its low-priced specialties—golombkis (stuffed cabbage), nalezniki (crepes suzette filled with apple, straw-

berry, cheese or prune) and pierogi (dumplings).

#### CULTURE CENTER SEEN

Another element, should it get off the ground, would be a block-long center for Polish theater, dance and other cultural activities that is being planned by a group of young Polish-Americans who are attempting to keep alive "true" Polish culture, not just the peasant aspects of it that came to America with the immigrants.

Copernicus, they say, is more important than kielbasa and beer. It is largely because of this group that Polish history, literature and language is undergoing a revival in Hamtramck's parochial schools.

Some even see the city as a setting in which effective integration of race and racial viewpoints can be nurtured.

The situation is in flux. Yugoslavians and Albanians—the latter-day immigrants—are moving here in increasing numbers. Establishing their coffee houses as community centers, where men gather to play cards and drink thick Turkish coffee that might keep one awake for days, they are starting a new ethnic nucleus.

How it will all turn out is anyone's guess. Some think that, in the end, Hamtramck will become all black, as most of the surrounding areas of Detroit have. The older Poles of Hamtramck talk about that prospect with the utmost sense of balance.

"What's the difference?" said John Wozniak. "America, America for everybody."

#### NFIB MEMBERSHIP TOPS 400,000

#### HON. JOHN Y. MCCOLLISTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. McCOLLISTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that the National Federation of Independent Business has just surpassed the 400,000-member mark for the first time. This figure represents a 13-percent increase in 1974 and follows a 10-percent increase last year.

In Nebraska the group has more than 6,200 members, and the district represented by my colleague DAVE MARTIN has the second largest membership of all congressional districts in the country. These 6,200 small businesses employ 41,273 persons and contribute more than \$1.2 billion to the economy.

To what can we attribute this rapid increase in membership? Certainly not a surplus of free time for the average of small businessmen. Most of them put in a 60-70 hour week and have little spare time to participate in organizations.

I believe the major factor is that small businessmen are finally beginning to realize that they must organize in order to be represented in Washington. For years, they have tried to operate without Government interference, but as more and more restrictive legislation is passed it becomes increasingly difficult even to cope with the paperwork.

Small businessmen need to make their problems known to those who pass far-reaching laws without considering the effect on the little guy—laws that often hamstring the very effort to stay in business.

A recent poll conducted by NFIB revealed that members feel by a 3-to-1 margin that control of inflation is the No. 1 priority. This surely indicates that the impact of inflation is so great it prompts businessmen to affiliate with a group which can express their views to Congress.

The voice of small business has been quiet too long. I applaud NFIB for taking on the job of articulating the concerns of this important group.

#### AMENDMENTS TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988

#### HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the Record the following amendments which I intend to offer to House Resolution 988:

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 4, line 20, strike the following: 1, 2, and 3.

Page 8, line 14, strike the comma after the word "resources" and substitute in lieu thereof the word "and".

Page 8, line 15, strike the following: "and naval petroleum reserve 4."

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 6, beginning line 2, strike the following: "the nontax aspects of medicare, and including other health care, health insurance, and medical assistance programs."

Page 6, after line 9, insert the following: "In addition to its legislative jurisdiction under the preceding provisions of this paragraph (and its general oversight function under clause 2(b)(1)), the committee shall have the special oversight function provided for in clause 3(c) with respect to the nontax aspects of medicare, and other health care, health insurance, and medical assistance programs."

Page 21, strike lines 2 through 4, and substitute in lieu thereof the following: "assistance, medical assistance programs, medicare, and national health insurance, but not work incentive programs; and food".

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 24, after line 15, add the following: "(b) The Committee on Commerce and Health shall have the function of reviewing and studying, on a continuing basis, all laws, programs, and Government activities dealing with or involving the nontax aspects of medicare, and other health care, health insurance, and medical assistance programs."

Redesignate the succeeding subclauses accordingly.

AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 5, after line 22, insert the following: "(2) Transportation, including civil aviation, railroads, railway labor and pensions, water transportation subject to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and related transportation regulatory agencies."

Renumber the succeeding paragraphs accordingly.

Page 16, line 3, strike the words "and Transportation".

Page 16, strike lines 14 through 19, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(3) Roads and the safety thereof, and urban mass transportation."

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 12, after line 3, insert the following:

"(2) Measures relating to Federal elections generally, including measures relating to the election of the President, Vice President, or Members of Congress; contested elections; credentials and qualifications.

"(3) Measures relating to the raising, reporting, expenditure, and use of campaign contributions for candidates for election to Federal office, and investigation of campaign expenditures."

Renumber the succeeding subparagraphs accordingly.

Page 19, strike lines 17 through 24, and renumber the succeeding paragraph accordingly.

Page 20, line 6, strike the following: "and clause 5(f)".

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 29, after line 25, insert the following:

"(2) making final report to the House in each contested election case at such time as the committee considers practicable in the Congress to which the contestee is elected;"

Renumber the succeeding paragraphs accordingly.

Page 33, strike lines 13 through 16. Redesignate the succeeding subclause accordingly.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 51, line 14, before the word "or" insert the following: "the Committee on House Administration in the case of a report made under clause 5(d) (2) of Rule X."

Page 51, line 16, strike the following: "or (f)".

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 60, line 18, strike the word "and" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "on the right of a Member to his or her seat, on".

Page 60, line 23, strike the following: "the right of a Member to his or her seat, and".

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 15, strike lines 4 through 9.

Page 21, beginning line 7, strike the following: "taxes; and the nontax aspects of unemployment compensation upon referral from the Committee on Labor as provided in clause 4(b)".

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 26, strike line 14 and all that follows through line 8 of page 27.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 17, beginning line 18, strike out following: "the functions with respect to committee amendments which are provided for in clause 5(d) and".

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 30, strike lines 9 through 23.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 40, after line 4, insert the following:

"(e) Each standing committee of the House of Representatives that has more than fifteen members shall establish at least three subcommittees."

Redesignate the succeeding subclause accordingly.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 53, strike lines 14 through 23, and substitute in lieu thereof the following: "activities only when authorized by a majority of the members of the committee."

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 79, strike line 3 and all that follows through line 13 of page 83, and substitute in lieu thereof the following:

#### "HOUSE COMMISSION ON INFORMATION AND FACILITIES

"Sec. 203. (a) There shall be in the House of Representatives a Commission on Information and Facilities (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Commission"), which shall be composed of nine Members of the House appointed by the Speaker, including the House members of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, no more than five being members of the same political party.

"(b) To assist the Commission in carrying out its functions, the Speaker shall establish an Advisory Council composed of six members as follows:

"(1) Two members who are representatives of public affairs institutions or groups,

"(2) Two members who have demonstrated ability in space utilization, and

"(3) Two members of the general public. The members of such Advisory Council shall receive compensation at the daily rate provided by law for persons in grade GS-18, for each day actually engaged in the performance of the Commission's functions; and shall be entitled to receive actual and necessary travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence.

"(b) It shall be the function of the Commission to conduct a thorough and complete study of—

"(1) the information problems of the House of Representatives against the background of the existing institutions and services available to the House, and to make such recommendations with respect thereto as may be appropriate,

"(2) the facilities and space requirements of the Members and committees of the House, including space utilization, parking, and the organization, responsibility, and supervision to provide adequate, efficient, and economical space utilization, and

"(3) the staff required to provide the House legislative counsel with the capability to fully meet the needs of the Members of the House.

"(c) The study conducted by the Commission pursuant to subsection (b) (1) shall include (but need not be limited to)—

"(1) House resources for information, including the Congressional Research Service, the General Accounting Office, and the Office of Technology Assessment, and the organizational framework that makes them effective or ineffective;

"(2) information management, collection, and dissemination for the House;

"(3) resources outside the Congress for information and their utilization;

"(4) methods for setting up and organizing the flow of information from and to the Executive;

"(5) experimental or pilot approaches to information problems, such as the creation of mechanisms for outside groups, or for pooling of resources; and

"(6) the creation of a congressional staff journal or other process for communication.

"(d) The Commission shall make an annual progress report to the Speaker, and shall make such additional reports as may appear appropriate or as may be directed by the Speaker, incorporating interim and final recommendations and drafts of legislation to carry out such recommendations. The final report of the Commission shall be submitted no later than January 2, 1977. The study conducted pursuant to paragraph (b) (3) shall be completed no later than January 1, 1976.

"(e) In carrying out its functions, the Commission may meet at such times and places as it deems necessary. A majority of the members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

"(f) Members and staff of the Commission shall be entitled to receive actual and necessary travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence.

"(g) The Commission shall utilize the staff of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations to the maximum extent possible and shall appoint and provide for the compensation of such other staff as may be necessary for the performance of its functions.

"(h) The contingent fund of the House is made available to carry out the purposes of this section."

Renumber succeeding sections accordingly.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 SUBMITTED BY MR. MARTIN OF NEBRASKA

Page 90, after line 14, insert the following:

#### "COMPILATION OF PRECEDENTS

"Sec. 409. The Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives is authorized and directed to complete the Compilation of the Precedents of the House of Representatives by January 1, 1977, and prepare an updated compilation of such precedents every two years thereafter. Copies of the Compilation of Precedents shall be printed in sufficient quantity to be available to every Member and the standing committees of the House of Representatives."

Renumber the succeeding section accordingly.

#### ELIMINATING THE RETIREMENT EARNINGS LIMITATION UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

#### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, approximately 2.5 million Americans aged 65 to 72 are being deprived of benefits they have earned by paying into the social security system. Because of the "earnings limitation" a penalty is imposed on any social security recipient who receives more than \$2,400 in salary or wages. The injustice here is striking: a person who needs to continue working past the age of 65 as a matter of economic survival must surrender a dollar of his social security benefits for every \$2 earned over the present low ceiling,



while an individual whose money comes from investments is not penalized at all. Today, I am introducing a bill which would totally remove this unjust provision in a series of steps. As envisioned in this legislation, the earnings limitation would no longer apply to those over 70, and the amount that a wage earner could make without penalty would be raised incrementally from 1976 to 1983. After that a person on social security would be able to work to the limit of his ability and initiative without restriction.

Since the earnings limitation was added to the Social Security Act in 1954 it has contradicted a basic tenet of the system: that benefits are paid as a matter of right to those who have worked for them. Social security recipients are not charity cases. The present wealth of this country has been purchased in a large part by the sacrifices of Americans in this age group. These citizens have worked all their lives, often at low wages, and paid into the social security system. I am convinced that we are breaking faith with them if we do not allow them the right to earn what they can without being denied the benefits they have worked for.

#### URGING A GREATER AMNESTY

### HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, there is rising support for an unconditional amnesty for draft evaders and deserters who opposed the Vietnam war, especially in view of the pardon granted former President Nixon. It would be unconscionable to require service from those who exercised conscience, when the President who violated the Constitution is granted a full pardon.

On September 25 of this year, the executive council of the Episcopal Church of the United States adopted a resolution urging an amnesty which will allow more young men to return home. I would like to bring this resolution to the attention of my colleagues:

#### FULL RECONCILIATION

Whereas, the Executive Council has acted to assist the men affected by the recent proclamation on clemency and earned re-entry; and

Whereas, the majority of our young men and their families' lives will remain unreconciled and away from our country; and

Whereas, it is necessary for the Church continually to apply the Word of God to the world in which we live; therefore be it,

Resolved: that this Executive Council's understanding of the Church's ministry in forgiveness and community-building moves us to state that the Clemency and Earned Re-entry Program falls short of the Gospel standards; and be it further

Resolved, that this Council urge local churches and individual church members to use influence to work toward provisions for a

full reconciliation of these men with their families and their country.

#### AMNESTY AND THE LAW

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, President Ford's recent amnesty plan has raised much public debate. Recently an interesting article discussing amnesty appeared in the Ashland (Ohio) Times-Gazette. Lin Williams, the author of the article, writes, "No matter how fervently we wish it, amnesty cannot be a matter of compassion. The practicality of law—the preservation of an orderly society—cannot be brushed aside easily."

At this point I include in the RECORD the text of the article "Law Requirement a Key to Amnesty" from the Ashland Times-Gazette. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

#### LAW REQUIREMENT A KEY TO AMNESTY

(By Lin Williams)

No matter how fervently we wish it, amnesty can not be a matter of compassion.

The practicality of law—the preservation of an orderly society—can not be brushed aside easily.

President Gerald Ford's desire to reconcile the controversy created by 70,000 self-exiled U.S. draft dodgers in foreign countries is commendable. Yet he must make certain he does not create a precedent whereby citizens in the future may safely evade unpleasant responsibilities.

The President's trial balloon proposes "earned" amnesty in return for 18 months of "national service" in hospitals and conservation camps.

This slap on the wrist infuriates the two and a half million Americans who served in the Vietnam war and those who fled or deserted.

On the one hand it is an insult to those who were killed and wounded. In addition it implies guilt to the shirkers who assert their superior morality.

It is not likely, therefore, that Congress can find a formula for amnesty based on token work. Nothing, but nothing, can come close to the ultimate sacrifice paid by 60,000 young American who did what they were told.

President Ford is justified in seeking an amnesty solution. The question is whether he suggests forgiving too much too soon.

There have been 34 separate incidents of amnesty in U.S. history dating back to George Washington's 1795 pardon of those who participated in the Whiskey Rebellion but subsequently gave it up to obey the law.

There has never been an unconditional amnesty of draft dodgers or deserters following any war! There was no amnesty of any kind after the War for Independence nor after Korea.

After World War I, in 1924, President Coolidge provided amnesty for 100 deserters—but all had deserted their units after the Nov. 11, 1918, armistice. They were peacetime deserters.

Fifteen years after the WWI Armistice, in 1933, President Roosevelt granted amnesty to 1,500 individuals convicted of espionage act and draft law violations and who had completed their sentences.

Two years after World War II, President Truman provided pardons for 1,523 draft law violators—from a total of 15,803—whose cases had been taken up with individual recommendations.

His 1952 Christmas amnesty dealt only with peacetime deserters—men who had left their units between V.J. Day and the outbreak of Korean hostilities on June 25, 1950.

The Civil War "amnesties" most often cited by proponents of Vietnam amnesty are particularly weak.

First, they never dealt with draft dodgers. Second, all of President Lincoln's and President Johnson's amnesties dealt with Confederates, or deserters from the Union Army—and none of them was unconditional. Gen. Robert E. Lee whose home was confiscated for Arlington National Cemetery, died without pardon even though he had requested it.

Lincoln offered pardons to the Confederates while the Civil War was at its height in an attempt to weaken the southern armies.

To Union military deserters in 1865, Lincoln offered pardons contingent upon their return to their units within 60 days to serve out a period of time equal to their original period of enlistment. Punishment set by Congress for not returning within 60 days was permanent forfeiture of the rights of citizenship!

The principal occasion on which Lincoln's government dealt with draft resisters was in the City of New York where thousands rioted in March of 1863. The federal answer to this draft demonstration was marshaling troops which put down the riots with gunfire, killing between 500 and 1,000 protesters.

Shortly after taking office, in May 1865, President Johnson granted full pardon to all Confederates (with exceptions) who took an unqualified oath of allegiance. Similar proclamations were issued in 1867 and 1868. In July 1866, more than a year after the war's end, President Johnson allowed deserters to return to military duty, without punishment, but with forfeiture of pay. Not until 1898 did the Universal Amnesty Act remove all disabilities against all former Confederates.

It is interesting that the attitude of the government was more lenient toward the organized rebels than toward individual Union citizens.

The key to this difference in attitude was based on law. The Confederate acted under the laws of his government, while the northern deserter and draft evader acted outside the law of his government.

For this same reason we usually end up treating our former enemies more leniently than our own draft law evaders.

This history of amnesty in the United States suggests two principal reasons why Ford's present proposal faces determined opposition.

First, it comes too close to the event. Hostilities continue in Indochina where we sought to halt the march of antidemocratic communism. There has been no time to dull our normal and righteous indignation toward those who let others shoulder the mortal burden of national interest.

Second, a new element of morality has been built up to justify cowardice and evasion of duty. We seem to have forgotten that our entry into Indochina was also originally based on moral responsibility.

Morality descends upon the winners of war—and the outcome of the Vietnam conflict is still in doubt.

In the end, the necessity of law will prevail. Case-by-case review will exonerate a few draft dodgers. Reduced prison terms will free deserters.

But amnesty based on any hint of reversal of right and wrong is still a long way off.

MR. HANCHO CHRIS KIM

**HON. VERNON W. THOMSON**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, last week a small group of my colleagues and I met with Mr. Hanchu Chris Kim, who gave us a firsthand account of impressions he gained during a recent visit to South Korea. Mr. Kim is an American businessman who first came to America from Korea as a college student in 1954.

Mr. Kim advised us that he feels that Americans tend to interpret the present Korean status quo largely in an American context which he feels demands of South Korea, a country constantly in grave military crisis, the same calm and precise attentiveness to human rights and privileges which Americans enjoy. According to him, those who belittle the North Korean threat to South Korea expound the view that suspensions of some constitutional rights in South Korea are based upon a nonexistent danger.

While there is now no aggressive action on the battlefield, Mr. Kim reports that the strengthening of North Korean positions continues in an effort to unify all Korea under Communist domination.

Mr. Kim enumerated to us some of the engagements to which he referred in our discussion.

**ENGAGEMENTS**

April 26, 1965: Capture of a South Korean vessel.

June 11, 1965: Attempted assassination in Seoul of the Korean President by infiltrators, North Korean General Chang O Ta and two assistants.

July 18, 1965: Attempt by North Korean commandos to destroy American Signal Corps center near Seoul and to assassinate President Park.

January 21, 1968: Invasion of Seoul by 31 North Korean commandos and attempted capture of the Korean Blue House and assassination of President Park. The mission failed.

January 23, 1968: The Pueblo incident.

July 20, 1968: Invasion of Chun Nam Province by 180 Communist infiltrators and guerillas, followed by an attempt of take over key posts in schools, election districts and other sensitive provincial positions and to manipulate them for Communist objectives.

November 2, 1968: Invasion by about 120 armed North Korean guerillas of Kyong Buk Province and the massacre of the entire population of the town of Sam Chuk area.

August 20, 1968: Landing of saboteurs and infiltrators in South Korea from a North Korean ship.

March 16, 1969: Eight saboteurs landed on the seacoast and were captured.

August 15, 1969: American Air force observation plane EC 121 shot down at a position stated to be 90 miles southeast of the nearest North Korean military position. Twenty-nine American service men killed.

June 8, 1969: Another North Korean spy ship captured on the South Korean seacoast.

June 12, 1969: Thirty-one North Koreans killed in an aggressive action against South Korean troops after invasion of South Korean soil from the sea.

December 11, 1969: Korean Air Lines airliner YS-11, with 51 passengers hijacked to

North Korea. Twelve of the passengers remain unaccounted for, as of a recent date.

April 4, 1970: North Korean spy ship captured while attempting to land infiltrators.

June 5, 1970: Another ship landing foiled.

June 22, 1970: Attempted assassination of President Park at the National Cemetery.

July 17, 1970: Another shipload of infiltrators captured.

January 23, 1973: Unsuccessful attempted hijacking of a Korean Air Lines liner with intended diversion of North Korea.

January 6, 1971: Shipload of infiltrators captured.

May 4, 1971: Another shipload of infiltrators captured.

September 17, 1971: Guerrilla invasion by land in a mountainous South Korean area.

February 4, 1972: One South Korean fishing vessel sunk and five more kidnapped by North Korean irregulars at sea.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Kim reported that the Korean people recoiled in horrified revulsion at the cruel murder of Mrs. Park Chung Hee in an attempt at the assassination of President Park Chung Hee on August 15, 1974.

Mr. Kim held an extended conference with Madam Park Chung Hee on August 14, 1974, the eve of her tragic assassination on August 15. Mr. Kim was impressed by her frankness and candor in describing the present conditions in her country. Mrs. Park advised Mr. Kim that as an example of her husband's effort to unify all South Koreans, Father Chee, leader of the South Korean Catholic Church, was invited 3 times to the President's home to discuss means for further unification of all segments of South Korea. Mr. Kim reported that the Korean First Lady said to him:

Of course, we are a young Republic. We try hard to practice the principles of democracy. We are not outside of democracy—we are inside.

Mr. Kim, as a businessman, has observed that President Park Chung Hee has set the climate which increased cash holdings per capita from \$87 in 1962 to \$373 in 1973, the growth rate in gross national product from 3.5 percent in 1962 to 16.9 percent in 1973, exports from \$57 million in 1962 to \$3,258 billion in 1973, church membership from 1,430,000 in 1964 to 4,460,000 in 1974, and many similar accomplishments, this in a country singularly deprived of known natural resources.

Mr. Kim reminded us that President Park has firmly resolved that a self-sustaining Korean economy is the best way to render respect and gratitude for the substantial American aid thus far bestowed upon his country. He and his people are perhaps our most devoted allies anywhere in the world. "Yankee go home!" is not part of Korean graffiti.

**TRIBUTE TO JOHN F. SHELLEY****HON. ANGELO D. RONCALLO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. RONCALLO of New York. Mr. Speaker, on September 1, the Members of this Body lost a former colleague and the American people lost one of its finest

citizens. Congressman Shelley's legacy to this country can best be found in the United States Code which contains the numerous statutes he introduced and supported to sustain and perfect our system of government. And so, along with my colleagues, I mourn his passing and pray his family will find solace in the fact that his contribution to our way of life will long remain in our minds.

**MANPOWER RESEARCH REPORT****HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on October 2, I inserted part I of a study on research by the Federal Government in the area of manpower training and development. This study was done by Garth L. Mangum of the Human Resources Institute at the University of Utah.

Today, I want to call my colleagues' attention to part II of Dr. Mangum's study. This is the final portion of his study. The report follows:

**MANPOWER RESEARCH REPORT—PART II**

(By Garth L. Mangum)

Having contributed modestly to the launching of programs and substantially to their modification, a number of research projects have begun to question easy assumptions reached during the earlier and more hectic years of manpower programs. The central issue, though not clearly stated, has been whether unemployment and other evidences of labor market disadvantage is inherent in the shortcomings of the individual or the structure of the institutions. It had been assumed that unemployment was a consequence of one of two factors: either there were not enough jobs to go around or the workers lacked the necessary skills, experience or other attributes. Training and work experience programs all assumed that the solution was to change the worker by adding to his skills and experience, or changing his attitudes. On the other hand, the bulk of the E&D effort addressed itself to changing the institutions rather than the worker, including job restructuring and improvements in Employment Service assistance to change internal manpower management practices.

Hugh Folk and Edward Kalachek challenged the accepted views about youth unemployment. Some blamed minimum wages for pricing youth out of the market. All assumed inexperience and lack of education and training to be important. Folk and Kalachek demonstrated that most of the differential between youth and adult unemployment could be explained simply by the swollen numbers of youth and the fact that longer school retention mean an extended period of labor market entry, exit and re-entry. These factors did not explain the differentials in the unemployment rates of white and black youth...

With programs emerging in a period of persistent unemployment, the concern was naturally the availability of jobs and the problems of the underemployed. The objective was a job—any job for the unemployed. Research by Flore and Doeringer in the Boston ghetto labor market, accompanied by the experience of the NABS-JOBS program in tightening labor markets, was a reminder that the labor market had a supply side too.



involving people who were perfectly capable of rejecting unattractive jobs which did not meet their expectations. The NAB-JOBS experience even identified the reservation rate in each major labor market. BLS and census surveyors were responsible for the intelligence that as many people were poor from low wages as from unemployment with even more in poverty for lack of an employable wage earner in the family. But the greatest surprise was the fact three million including nearly two million heads of families worked full time-full year without exiting from poverty, with low wages and large families as explanations.

Basic assumptions about the boundaries between work and welfare were also challenged. Liberals and social workers, by and large, had viewed the welfare population as made up of families without breadwinners with no realistic alternative to dependency. The poor were the aged, female-headed families, and the long-term unemployed. The conservative image of the typical welfare was a burly, hairy-chested man in his undershirt sitting in an easy chair in front of the television with a can of beer. "Why can't he work for a living like I do?" The social worker vision was largely correct as long as most states denied public assistance to families with an employable but unemployed head. But as some states liberalized their rules under federal prodding, and families in others learned the profitability of desertion, the picture blurred. Researchers helped make conventional wisdom of the insight that welfare families faced a "100 percent income tax" on any discretionary earnings. Academics not only discovered that only a portion of those eligible for welfare had access to it but organized a campaign for "welfare rights," hoping as much as anything to bankrupt a system they considered demeaning.

The concept of the negative income tax was largely an academic contribution, with advocacy ranging across a remarkable spectrum. Conservatives were unenthusiastic about welfare but, if it had to be, preferred giving money to having social workers make consumption decisions. Liberals sought to reduce opposition to guaranteed incomes by maintaining work incentives. As noted, discovery of the working poor, those who worked full time-full year at wages too low to pull them out of poverty, was a contribution of government researchers, but it took others to package and "sell" the implications of the finding. The Family Assistance Plan, whose primary beneficiaries would be these working poor was designed by academics turned politicians. A point not yet clearly made is that welfare benefits have risen more rapidly than the lowest wages, overlapping the lower ranges of the wage structure. For increasing numbers, the choice between work and welfare is a real one, not because the latter's benefits are excessive, but because the former's are abysmal.

Regardless of the magnitude of the impact of research on policy and programs, there was no doubt of the impact of policy and program on research. Labor market research had been the province of men attracted to the field by the reform potential of the labor movement during the last half of the 1930s. They gained prominence under the aegis of the War Labor Board and dabbled in manpower research while they worked at arbitration during the 1950s. The manpower research funds becoming available during the 1960s were small potatoes beside that available for research in the physical sciences and health. But in the social sciences, and particularly labor market research, it was a case of rapid multiplication. Since the dollar's function is the allocation of resources, talent and commitment went with the money.

But there was more to it than that. The funds available, particularly the MDTA Title I funds in the hands of the Labor Depart-

ment Office of Manpower Research, were carefully husbanded. The research administrators sought to assure funding according to predetermined priority, yet leave flexibility for the unusually attractive proposal. But the available researchers were largely retrained students of industrial relations. More important than the funding of research was the deliberate use of research funds to build individual and institutional capacity.

A series of institutional grants built capability in 7 institutions over four years, and then were transferred to support 12 more, all of which were encouraged to emphasize student support as the primary function of the grant. By June 30, 1970, a total of 178 research contracts had been completed by a variety of universities and research firms and an additional 77 projects were still under contract. Besides the institutional grants and major projects, a program of small individual grants to support doctoral dissertations in the manpower field begun in 1968 had produced 77 completed dissertations by June 30, 1970, with an additional 106 still in process. The research manpower committed to manpower research from these funds represents a tremendous investment in human capital with both immediate and long-term payoffs. Next to the attraction and development of manpower, the most important contribution of the research effort was the development of strategy to bring research results to policy attention.

Researchers, like Mr. Dooley's Supreme Court, read the newspapers and tend to take guidance from the headlines. However, the amazingly rapid switch which occurred from industrial relations research to manpower research in the early 1960s and the crowd of young researchers attracted to the field during the decade could only have been bought by an infusion of public funds and aggressive government recruitment. Interests do not normally shift that rapidly. The bulk of manpower policy research must be credited to the Office of Manpower Research and Development of the U.S. Department of Labor, with significant assists by the Office of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Ford Foundation. Remarkable little has emerged from university funded research or from the unsubsidized curiosity of individual researchers.

Manpower research is unique in that it has exploded from an obscure field of interest in 1960 to a major area of academic and commercial effort in 1970. Interest was certain to grow with policy activity. But research takes more than interest; it requires funding. The researcher's talents, like all labor market skills, are allocated through the purchase of services and, in this case, the distribution of funds. That attraction of talent was a major contribution of MDTA. Relative to other federal sources of research funds, its appropriations have been small, but its impact has been greater than that generated by other research appropriations several times as large.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988 TO BE PRESENTED BY MR. GIBBONS IS SUBMITTED FOR PRINTING IN THE RECORD

**HON. SAM GIBBONS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I include in the Record the following amendment intended to be offered by me to House Resolution 988:

#### AN AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GIBBONS TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988

Beginning on page 9, line 16, after the word "policy" insert a period, and strike out the remainder of line 16 through line 22.

And on page 21, strike out line 13 through line 16 and insert in lieu thereof on page 21, beginning on line 13, the following:

"(7) International trade policy, reciprocal trade agreements; tariffs and customs administration."

#### DEDICATION OF THE WHITE RIVER JUNCTION VETERANS HOSPITAL IN VERMONT

**HON. RICHARD W. MALLARY**

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. MALLARY. Mr. Speaker, October 5, was a proud day for the State of Vermont and for the many veterans in the Vermont, New Hampshire, and northern Massachusetts area who are served by the veterans hospital in White River Junction, Vt. On October 5, under clear autumn sky at the height of Vermont's foliage season, a distinguished assemblage of Vermont and New Hampshire officials and citizens and representatives of the Veterans' Administration assembled to dedicate a new 204-bed hospital at the Veterans' Administration Center.

The dedication ceremony was honored by the presence of the new Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the Honorable Richard L. Roudebush who was dedicating his first VA hospital since his confirmation as Administrator.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that our former colleague's remarks are an important statement of the importance of this facility and the significant mission performed by the Veterans' Administration on behalf of those veterans who served this Nation with sacrifice and dedication. I include herewith the text of Administrator Roudebush's address.

#### DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE WHITE RIVER JUNCTION VA HOSPITAL

(By Richard L. Roudebush)

One of the great privileges of being an official of the Veterans Administration—is the opportunity it gives to visit interesting places in this great Nation—where the mission of VA is being pursued.

And one of the great privileges of the job—is the opportunity it gives to associate with the wonderful people who work at this mission and those outside of VA who aid and support them.

Certainly there is no spot in the entire geography of VA—that is more beautiful and inviting than this one.

And there is no place where the needs of veterans are being met with greater skill or dedication . . . or where local interest in what we do—is keener or more effectively expressed.

I am honored to be with you today—for this most significant ceremony. I deeply appreciate your welcome.

For many years the VA center here has served . . . faithfully and well . . . those residents of Vermont—who answered a call to duty—men and women who protected and defended their State and their Nation—in time of danger.

Today—it is our very pleasant task to dedicate a new facility here—that will make that service better . . . that will give VA personnel greater ability to perform their jobs and accomplish their goals.

We look at this new hospital—and we take pride in its appearance. We tour it—as many of you have done—and we marvel at the engineering—scientific and medical accomplishments that are manifest in its features . . . the sophistication and the completeness of its equipment.

The building—and its contents—would do honor to any location—any community. They would be outstanding any place that medicine is practiced—and health problems confronted.

But advanced architecture—and modern instruments and techniques do not—in themselves—make a hospital good—and are not—in themselves—sufficient to warrant an observance of this scope—and this seriousness.

We could enter the building—activate all systems—and be about the task of examining and treating patients without ceremony—and without celebration.

If we were interested only in the fact that a new structure is here—we could let the occasion pass unnoticed—except for some physical and operational adjustments—on the part of personnel and patients.

To do so—however—would be to miss the significance of what has led up to the existence—and the opening of this new facility—and to miss the significance of what it will mean—in time to come.

We are here . . . then . . . to do more than dedicate a building. We are here to reaffirm our belief in the mission of this institution—and to rededicate ourselves to that mission.

We are here to proclaim that VA wants the very best health care possible—for veterans of this area . . . and to say that we will operate this hospital the best way we know how—to meet that objective.

We pledge compassion and dedication—and all the skill we possess. We pledge hard work.

It was another October—36 years ago—in 1938 . . . when the first patient was admitted to the hospital here.

The Veterans Administration had existed as an agency for only eight years at that time. World War I . . . the "great war" . . . had been over for only twenty years—and the great majority of American veterans were of that war.

But October 1938—was also the month that Nazi Germany occupied the Sudetenland—and World War II was close at hand. Forty thousand citizens of Vermont took part in that great struggle—and the job of serving veterans in Vermont—took on a vast new dimension.

And—of course—twice since World War II men and women from this area—have gone to war.

It is not comforting to remember—that we have engaged in combat three times—since the White River Junction Hospital was activated thirty-six years ago . . . but it is comforting to know—that there has been such an institution here—to receive those who needed care following their service.

It is gratifying to know—that there have been capable and devoted people—ready to give this care. And it is gratifying to know that the hospital . . . and the center of which it is a part . . . have received such overwhelming support—from the citizens of what surely must be one of the nicest communities in the United States.

Now we look to the future . . . our capacity for service increased—our ability to serve enhanced.

We start a new era here today. Its start is occasioned by the fact that this magnificent new hospital—is now ready for use.

Although . . . as I think I have already indicated amply . . . the meaning of this day is not based solely on the fact of physical improvement—there can be none who are a

part of VA—or who have an interest in this region's some 90,000 veterans—who can fail to be excited over the characteristics of this building.

And the fact that its existence will lead to further physical improvement—by the conversion of older facilities—to new uses—makes it all the more impressive.

We will be able to treat more patients than ever before . . . with some 3,600 inpatients expected this fiscal year—and with nearly 25,000 outpatient visits expected.

We will be able to provide more specialized treatment than before—with intensive care and coronary care units.

And—of course—the surroundings will be more comfortable and more convenient—for those who are hospitalized here.

This hospital's affiliation with the Dartmouth Medical School—has been of great value—in helping provide superior staffing—and assuring better diagnosis and treatment. The new plant will increase the value of this affiliation—and we look forward to not only a continued relationship with Dartmouth—but to even a closer one.

We all recognize that there have been great changes . . . great improvements . . . in medicine since 1938—when the first patients were admitted here. What is not so commonly understood—is that concepts of what help should be provided—to sick or disabled veterans have also changed . . . changed to make this help relate more closely—and more humanely—to the individual and his life.

There is emphasis on treating the whole man—rather than an isolated condition. There is a greater attempt to understand the person—and to lay out a program of care—that takes into account his job—his family—and his outside living conditions.

The fact that so many VA patients are being treated in outpatient clinics—for conditions that formerly would have required their losing days or weeks in a hospital—is evidence of the new concern for an individual and his life.

And there are other programs that recognize the right of the patient—to the greatest convenience—and that make concessions to his individuality . . . nursing home care—home care—VA-supervised care by other institutions and agencies—by other physicians and dentists.

These modes are important here—and they will grow more important—during the era which we enter today.

In our hospital system—there is a dedicated cadre of people—who do much to help make patients comfortable—and to restore their health—although they are neither professional medical people—nor even members of the hospital staff.

They have a great deal to do with the morale of hospital patients. They perform countless tasks—not assigned to staff members. They make the experience of hospitalization easier to endure.

I speak—of course—of VA volunteers—those unselfish and dedicated people—who give so much of themselves to others.

I commend—and salute—those who have been so active at this hospital. We appreciate you. We hope you will be even more active in the years ahead.

And—in thanking those who perform as volunteers—I would like to thank the organizations—to which many of the volunteers belong—organizations which are responsible for a strong volunteer program here—and that do many other things—for this hospital and this center.

We like to work with you . . . veterans groups—and other service organizations . . . and we know that much of what VA does—can only be fully successful with your help. We solicit your ideas—and your opinions—and we hope to continue our relationship with you.

These remarks would be incomplete—if I did not refer to the future of non-medical activities at this center . . . programs im-

portant to all of Vermont's veterans—dependents and survivors.

The regional-office functions will—of course—continue—and I am sure they will increase—in the period ahead—as more residents of this great state make use of benefits they have earned. VA is currently a \$33-½ million a year operation here—and some 14,000 veterans receive non-medical VA assistance.

We are proud of the record of this center—in providing good and timely service. We pledge that such service will continue—and that we will always be alert to ways in which we can improve—what we are doing.

I would like to express one further thought to the residents of White River Junction—who are with us today.

I know you have a sort of proprietary interest in this center—and that you have pride in this new hospital. I want to encourage that interest and that pride.

VA is a vast organization with 200,000 employees—58 regional offices—and 171 hospitals. But VA has meaning—as an agency—only as it relates to the people it serves . . . and that service takes place in communities such as this . . . not in some office in Washington or elsewhere.

You are closer to what is going on—at this center—than those of us who do not have the privilege of frequent visits. VA is an agency of the people . . . and you are the people here.

Please consider these facilities yours . . . in VA matters—of course . . . but also for community activities—not directly involving VA.

To employees of this beautiful and impressive new hospital—I have this to say:

When the weekend is over—this ceremony will be a thing of the past. The decorations will have come down. Your guests will have gone home.

But the physical improvements—we dedicate today—will be here to help you make your service better—than it has been in the past.

I am confident that the enthusiasm of this day—will still be here, too—and I am sure it will.

I know you will never confuse the presence of buildings—or equipment—with the ability to make them work to achieve a goal.

You will never do less—than you can do personally—because of technological advancement. You will remember that physical improvement is only an aid—to the factors that count most—in operating a hospital—professional competence—dedication—skill—judgment—diligence—and kindness.

To all of you here . . . I wish you well in the years ahead—and I look forward to other visits with you. I feel that the hospital . . . and the entire center . . . that means so much to you . . . the staff members—veterans and volunteers—residents of the community—and persons who may simply be classified as friends . . . is a credit to you—and a credit to this area—and will continue to be so.

I will always remember—that I was privileged to dedicate my first VA hospital here at White River Junction—and I will always have fond memories of this occasion.

Thank you for your wonderful hospitality.

#### H.R. 16424, COMMISSION ON FEDERAL PAPERWORK

HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1974

Mr. HUDNUT. Mr. Speaker, as a co-sponsor of an identical bill, I am pleased that the House passed H.R. 16424 to es-



tablish a Commission on Federal Paperwork.

This Commission will study ways to eliminate some of the bureaucratic red tape which now plagues both the small businessman and the Federal Government. The Commission will seek recommendations as to how to consolidate the reporting procedures required by the various agencies in the Federal Government. I will also review the extent to which Federal agencies can reduce duplication through cooperation with State and local government and private agencies in the collecting, processing and disseminating of information. Not only will the Commission seek methods to make the collection of data more efficient, it will, in this time of economic strain, offer a plan to cut costs of unnecessary Federal paperwork.

Since the creation of this Commission on Federal Paperwork will provide the Congress with useful suggestions that will reduce Federal red tape, I am hopeful that it will be finally enacted very soon.

#### NEW DIRECTION IN REHABILITATION

#### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Minnesota has embarked on a new path in the corrections field. Pursuant to enabling legislation passed by the State legislature in 1973, the department of corrections is working to bring private industry to the grounds of the State prison. The objectives of allowing private companies to operate in the prison are to manufacture or process goods, to establish a stable work force, to pay adequate wages to inmate workers, and to provide these workers with training and in-and-out-of-prison opportunities.

As explained by Mr. R. D. Conner of Control Data Corp. in "A Position Paper on Establishing a Manufacturing Operation in the Minnesota State Prison":

Individuals in prisons are primarily disadvantaged before they are sent there, a condition which is worsened by the prison experience. Research shows that inmates are less able to adjust to society upon release than they are when they are sent to prison. Forty to seventy percent commit new crimes. Making punishment more stringent has not worked. The large and rising cost of crime and punishment in the United States seems to be worsened by incarcerating offenders in prisons. Alternatives have to be found to improve the prison's environment so that it provides positive experiences. One proposed alternative is allowing industry to operate a manufacturing plant within the prison to provide stability, jobs, training, etc.

In his paper entitled, "Private Industry in the Minnesota State Prison," Mr. Stan Wood, director of the Minnesota State Prison private industry experimental program, explained that prison industry is not new. However, while such industry has some benefits for the state, it has been an in-house, State-operated venture with many drawbacks. It pro-

vides little experience or training that can be applied toward employment once an inmate leaves the institution; there is no preservice training in the particular job or in-service training to improve skills; there is little financial incentive to the inmate; and there is no placement or follow-up service with industries outside the prison.

As a further note on the disadvantages of the current correctional system vis-à-vis prison industry, Prof. Neil M. Singer stated in his excellent paper, "The Value of Adult Inmate Manpower," which was prepared for the American Bar Association's commission on correctional facilities and services—

The total loss from wasted adult inmate labor is conservatively \$1 billion, and probably nearer \$1.5 billion per year.

Obviously much is at stake.

The inmate in the Minnesota project will receive the benefits of on-the-job, preservice, and in-service training, adequate wages allowing him to build a financial base, and a requirement that he become financially responsible by entering into a contract to reimburse the prison for room, board, and support services, to provide financial assistance to his family, and to buy those services necessary for him to become a productive citizen.

Society will benefit from the reduced cost of the correctional system and the collection of taxes on wages, from releasing into society trained individuals capable of supporting themselves honestly, and from the reduced recidivism that can be expected from enabling the former prisoner to function normally in society.

However, an impediment to the success of the Minnesota project exists in Federal law. For this reason, I am today introducing legislation to amend chapter 85 of title 18 and an act of Congress codified at 49 U.S.C. 60; 18 U.S.C. 1761 proscribes the shipment in interstate commerce of goods, wares or merchandise manufactured, produced or mined wholly or in part by convicts or prisoners; 18 U.S.C. 1762 provides that such goods must be plainly and clearly marked to show, among other things, the name and location of the penal or reformatory institution where they were produced; 49 U.S.C. 60 divests such goods of their interstate—hence protected—nature whenever they arrive in a State and allows for their treatment as if they were produced within the State.

Failure to amend these laws would be very detrimental to the success of a program which has great promise of rehabilitating inmates. An industry must be able to move its goods in interstate commerce, and it must not have its goods treated in a discriminatory manner. The legislation I have introduced today would correct this situation.

This legislation would exempt from the operation of chapter 85 of title 18 goods produced wholly or partially by prisoners if they were paid prevailing minimum wages as determined for purposes of the Walsh-Healey Act. Further, the legislation would exempt such goods from the operation of 40 U.S.C. 60 by allowing them to retain their interstate nature

and by providing specifically that the States could not discriminate in their treatment of them.

Correctional officials of States such as Wisconsin, Louisiana, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Oregon have contacted the director of the Minnesota project to express their interest in the private industry proposal and to obtain information on it. I hope that the Congress can act quickly on this legislation in order to allow the impetus of this progressive rehabilitation program to continue and to help insure its success.

#### WASHINGTON REDTAPE— PUSHING UP PRICES?

#### HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the heightened public awareness of Government's responsibility for the present inflation caused by excessive and deficit spending has created a climate where constructive change is possible.

We all recognize that the mammoth Federal budget has contributed mightily to inflationary pressures in the economy. What we often fail to realize is that some kinds of legislation and most administrative rulings have very little overall cost to the Government—paid by taxpayers—but have a tremendous cost to local units of Government, school districts, and in the private sector of the economy. This goes far beyond the costly "paperwork burden" to include all the modifications of business places, industrial plants, and product design mandated in Federal occupational health and safety laws, consumer protection, and product safety laws and environmental cleanup laws.

This is not to say that the above-mentioned laws are not necessary, but only that they have a dimly perceived but real cost to the economy—frequently a nonproductive cost. Congress should be assessing this cost and weighing it in its deliberations when deciding on legislation requiring such expenditures. So should the executive agencies when they undertake administrative rulings.

I have introduced House Resolution 1372 which would require a calculation of the cost of any proposed bill or administrative regulation to be made and published before action is taken by the Congress or an executive agency.

This week's edition of U.S. News & World Report contains an article, "Washington Redtape—Pushing Up Prices?" which adds further evidence to the need for adoption of this reform. I commend it to my colleagues:

WASHINGTON REDTAPE—PUSHING UP PRICES?

Businessmen under pressure by the White House to hold down price increases are sounding this complaint—

Government agencies that supervise private industries often add, indirectly, through excessively strict regulations and burdensome red tape, to the prices that firms charge their customers.

Over and over, at the discussion meetings leading up to President Ford's economic summit in late September, businessmen, farm leaders and economists pounded away at this theme.

Hidden costs are growing all the time. More than 100 billion dollars' worth of annual U.S. output is directly influenced by Government regulation, including such major lines as food, drugs, transportation, finance, communications, electric power and consumer products.

The grumbling centers on a whole batch of regulatory developments. For example, family food bills are being shoved higher by federal regulations that tend to feed inflation.

Charles J. Carey, president of the National Canners Association, says the current price of a can of corn encompasses "any number of added costs reflecting not improvement of the product but compliance with new Government regulations."

Mr. Carey was referring to frequent changes in federal labeling requirements that often force canners to scrap millions of labels to comply with latest rulings on nutritional information; to water-pollution-control regulations that, if followed to the letter, would boost food processors' water-treatment costs by 100 per cent; and to noise-abatement programs under the Occupational Safety and Health Act that, canners say, are prohibitive in cost.

The NCA has proposed enactment of a "Consumer Cost Evaluation Act," which would require that any Government program or policy that would boost prices to consumers by a significant amount "must provide benefits . . . that bear a reasonable relationship to such costs."

Other charges from industry spokesmen on the effects of federal regulatory policies: Price-cutting competition among railroads, trucks and barge lines is inhibited, rather than stimulated, by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Critics cite a current case: At a time when prices are soaring on all kinds of paper products, the agency has refused a West Coast trucker's request to lower charges for hauling wood pulp while regulators study the impact on competition.

Airlines are not allowed to cut fares on highly profitable routes to beat competition. Instead, they add costly frills. In addition, airlines complain, the Civil Aeronautics Board cost U.S. international carriers 8 million dollars in lost business by canceling low-cost youth fares on flights abroad.

With natural gas in critically short supply, the Federal Power Commission allowed almost 100 suppliers to triple rates for a 60-day period, adding substantially to manufacturing costs of scores of firms. At the end of the two months, the agency admittedly failed to reassess its policy or order prices cut back as originally planned.

Complaints of this sort are mounting against virtually every one of the dozens of federal bodies whose decisions affect the prices of goods and services turned out by U.S. firms.

#### AIDS TO INFLATION

This past summer, Hendrik Houthakker, a former member of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers and now a Harvard professor of economics, outline an "omnibus inflation bill" for Congress that would include more than 40 changes in the way business is regulated, mostly eliminating statutes that restrict competition.

Such warnings are not falling on deaf ears in the White House. Administration economists also have been drawing up a list of Government activities that might unnecessarily interfere with business and aid inflation. The list runs 50 pages.

Many of the prohibitions on the list may prove essential, officials concede, if the public's rights are to be protected in such areas as fair pricing, clean air and water stand-

ards, job safety and the like. But the compilation is viewed as a "shopping list" to identify agencies and rules that have an adverse impact on the economy.

The Office of Management and Budget is preparing a study of its own for the President, focusing on how regulatory agencies affect economic policies.

All these probes tend to have one thing in common: They look at the longstanding complaint that many federally regulatory bodies grow too close to the firms under their scrutiny—often protecting them from each other rather than promoting competition.

#### HINDERING COMPETITION

Justice Department trustbusters single out some of the regulatory policies of the Interstate Commerce Commission as examples of deterrents to competition.

For instance, the agency requires all truckers to get prior federal approval for rates they charge for every item hauled along every route in interstate commerce. By limiting entry to a market and fixing rates, some critics charge, regulators are forcing trucking-company customers, in many cases, to pay higher rates than they would if competition were unrestricted. The Commerce Commission applies similar rules to goods hauled by railroads and barges. And experts estimate that the extra costs created by federal regulation of freight transportation in the U.S. may add as much as 10 billion dollars, and perhaps more, annually to the shipping bills for companies and individuals.

Among other Government policies that are drawing fire on the ground that they have inflationary impact:

Interest-rate ceilings on some long-term Government bonds, that make them less attractive in today's competitive financial market.

The Davis-Bacon Act which sets wage rates to be paid on Government contracts.

Regulation on wellhead prices of new natural gas, a commodity in seriously short supply.

Limits on imports of meat, dairy products and other farm commodities.

Restrictions that prevent payment of interest on bank checking accounts and limit interest on savings-institution accounts.

Many attacks on these barriers to competition are being mounted by economists and businessmen, but some are coming from Administration aides and other Government officials who believe a simpler, less costly way to control business enterprise and promote competition is through tougher application of the antitrust laws.

Lewis Engman, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, has this to say:

"Antitrust, by itself, is no guarantee against inflation. But Government vigilance in enforcing competitive conditions can at least ensure that price increases attributable to excessive demand or short supply do not provide a cover for additional increases born of anticompetitive conduct or the abuse of market power."

#### COST OF SAFETY

Another regulatory body recently stirring up a legal controversy is the Consumer Product Safety Commission. It ruled that the manufacturer of an electric "trouble light," after admitting the product was faulty, should spend millions of dollars on ads to warn the public of hazards to the user created by the device.

However, a federal court overruled the Commission, stating that efforts to alert the public taken by the company immediately after the defects were detected were sufficient, and the penalties prescribed by the Commission would be unnecessarily costly.

What the outcome of recent outbreaks of harsh criticism of U.S. regulatory policies will be, experts say, is hard to assess. They

point out that most regulatory bodies are responsible to Congress and not the White House. Therefore any changes in their operations must be ordered by Congress. In the past, legislators have been reluctant to take any power away from the regulators they dominate, partly because many of their constituents benefit from the agencies' programs.

However, experts in and out of Government say that the latest attacks on the regulators are founded on arguments that come closer to the heart of the nation's economic problems, and influential members of Congress are taking a closer look at what the agencies are up to than in the past. In the end, this may lead to regulatory reforms that have been hinted at for many years.

#### AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 1248

#### HON. BILL GUNTER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. GUNTER. Mr. Speaker, in the event House Resolution 1248 is still open to amendments on Wednesday, October 9, I intend to offer the following amendment which I believe will satisfy any and all objections to the language of the amendment offered today.

If my colleagues are serious about extending the principle of "Government in the Sunshine" to cover business and markup sessions as well as hearings held in committee, then we will agree:

#### AMENDMENT

On page 20, strike out lines 9 through 25, and on page 21, strike out lines 1 through 7, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(g) (1) Each meeting of each standing, select, or special committee or subcommittee, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public: *Provided*, That a portion or portions of such meetings, except meetings to conduct hearings, may be closed to the public if the committee or subcommittee, as the case may be, determines by vote of a majority of the members of the committee or subcommittee, with a quorum being present, matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such portion or portions—

"(A) will probably disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national security or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

"(B) will relate solely to matters of committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

"(C) will tend to jeopardize the present or future legal rights of any person or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of any individual;

"(D) will probably disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement; or

"(E) will disclose information relating to trade secrets or financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person where—

"(1) the information has been obtained by the Federal government pursuant to an agreement to maintain confidentiality of such information;

"(11) a Federal statute requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or



"(iii) the information is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person.

*Provided further, That each hearing conducted by each committee or subcommittee thereof shall be open to the public except when the committee or subcommittee, in open session and with a quorum present, determines by rollcall vote that all or part of the remainder of the hearing shall be closed to the public because disclosure of testimony, evidence, or other matters to be considered would endanger the national security or would violate any law or rule of the House of Representatives.*

A separate vote of the committee shall be taken with respect to each committee or subcommittee meeting that is closed to the public pursuant to this paragraph, and the committee shall make available within one day of such meeting a written explanation of its action. The vote of each committee member participating in each such vote shall be recorded and published.

"(2) Each standing, select, or special committee or subcommittee shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of each meeting (whether open or closed to the public) at least one week before such meeting unless the committee or subcommittee determines by a vote of the majority of the committee that committee business requires that such meeting be called at an earlier date, in which case the committee shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of such meeting at the earliest practicable opportunity.

"(3) A complete transcript, including a list of all Members of the committee or subcommittee attending, and of all other persons participating and their function or affiliation, shall be made of each meeting of each standing, select, or special committee or subcommittee meeting (whether open or closed to the public) in addition to the record required by paragraph (e) (1). Except as provided in subparagraph (4), a copy of each such transcript shall be made available for public inspection within seven days of each such meeting, and additional copies of any transcript shall be furnished to any person at the actual cost of duplication.

"(4) In the case of meetings closed to the public pursuant to subparagraph (1), the committee or subcommittee may delete from the copies of transcripts that are required to be made available or furnished to the public pursuant to subparagraph (3) any portions which it determines by vote of the majority of the committee or subcommittee consist of material specified in subdivision (A), (B), (C), (D), or (E) of subparagraph (1). A separate vote of the committee or subcommittee shall be taken with respect to each transcript. The vote of each committee or subcommittee member participating in each such vote shall be recorded and published. In place of each portion deleted from copies of the transcript made available to the public, the committee shall supply a written explanation of why such portion was deleted and a summary of the substance of the deleted portion that does not itself disclose information specified in subdivision (A), (B), (C), (D), or (E) of subparagraph (1). The committee or subcommittee shall maintain a complete copy of the transcript of each meeting (including those portions deleted from copies made available to the public) for a period of at least one year after such meetings.

"(5) A point of order may be raised against any committee or subcommittee vote to close a meeting to the public pursuant to subparagraph (1), or against any committee or subcommittee vote to delete from the publicly available copy a portion of a meeting transcript pursuant to subparagraph (4), by committee or subcommittee members com-

prising one-fourth or more of the total membership of the entire committee or subcommittee. Any such point of order must be raised before the entire House within five legislative days after the vote against which the point of order is raised, and such point of order shall be a matter of highest privilege. Each such point of order shall immediately be referred to a Select Committee on Meetings consisting of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the majority leader, and the minority leader. The select committee shall report to the House within five calendar days (excluding days when the House is not in session) a resolution containing its findings. If the House adopts a resolution finding that the committee vote in question was not in accordance with the relevant provision of subparagraph (1), it shall direct that there be made publicly available the entire transcript of the meeting improperly closed to the public or the portion or portions of any meeting transcript improperly deleted from the publicly available copy.

"(6) The Select Committee on Meetings shall not be subject to the provisions of subparagraph (1), (2), (3), or (4).

#### SSI

### HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. REID. Mr. Speaker, while legislation to reform the supplemental security income program—SSI—is pending before House and Senate Committees, tens of thousands of aged, blind, and disabled SSI recipients in New York City have been forced to move from their squalid single-room facilities to even more wretched accommodations. The reason behind this mass exodus can be attributed to the fact that these individuals' monthly SSI checks are not high enough to meet their basic living expenses.

The congressional intent behind the supplemental security income program was to provide a basic Federal minimum monthly income for our Nation's needy. In addition, States could supplement the SSI benefit if the States' previous payment levels had been higher than the Federal standard. While it is important for both the State and Federal Governments to raise their payment levels as a result of increases in the cost of living, in New York State alone, over 200,000 SSI recipients have not seen any increases in their monthly checks.

In the New York metropolitan area alone, according to the Consumer Price Index, the cost-of-living has increased 10.8 percent from August 1973 to August 1974. Also from July until August of this year, there has been a rate of increase of 11.2 percent; expressed on an annual basis, the current rate of increase in New York City would be 21 percent. With the cost of living continuing to rise, and with SSI checks remaining the same, literally 10,000 individuals have been forced to leave their run-down, single-rooms.

It is shocking, in my view, that those persons who are old, who are sick, who are blind should struggle on fixed in-

comes when prices continue to skyrocket. If Government is to mean anything to such people, it must not give with one hand, and take with the other—promising hope on paper, but precluding in reality the increases so vital to their very existence.

Accordingly, I would like to urge the Congress to act expeditiously on SSI legislation which would authorize a "passthrough" provision for States to coincide with increases in Federal payments. In this way, States such as New York would be "held-harmless" if they increased their supplement to meet rises in the cost of living.

In addition, I believe that we must work to enact legislation immediately to prevent reductions in SSI benefits when social security benefit increases take effect; to provide for emergency payments for lost, stolen, or undelivered SSI checks; to permit payments of SSI benefits in limited circumstances to be paid directly to drug addicts or alcoholics; to restore food-stamp eligibility to all SSI recipients; to provide for expeditious action on applications; to amend eligibility requirements for separated spouses; to allow judicial review of eligibility determinations; to insure that an individual in a nonprofit retirement home or institution will not have SSI benefits reduced because his/her support and maintenance is partially subsidized by the home itself or by any other nonprofit institution.

We must work, and work immediately to terminate the unforeseen inequities we allowed to be passed in our original SSI legislation in order to assist those who suffer the most—our Nation's aged, blind, and disabled.

#### HONESTY AND FREEDOM

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to include at this point in the RECORD, comments made by Ivan Hill, president of American Viewpoint, Inc., Chapel Hill, N.C., as made to the National Retail Public Relations Conference on September 23 at Williamsburg, Va. Mr. Hill and his organization deserve great praise from the American people for the effort being made, sacrificially and with industry, to improve the ethical climate of our country in every possible way.

The article follows:

#### HONESTY AND FREEDOM

It has been said that the beginning of good public relations is a good product, a good service or a good cause—all supported by good research. Such an approach to public relations is so elemental it's a cliché. But we should never discount clichés because they usually grow out of a lot of human experience, and are often based on fundamental truths. I have been wondering lately if business might not benefit from mixing in a few old clichés with its new computers.

Perhaps someone else has mentioned to you that business, along with some other conspicuous elements of our society, appears

to be having a little difficulty with its public image. Retail business, however, is comparatively well regarded. The heritage of a family relationship still persists between the customer and his or her favorite retailer. But, as in most family relationships, sometimes someone will come in and blame you for what Walter Cronkite said on last night's news, for what goes on in Washington, or for the price of gasoline. When the citizens of a free society are plagued with widespread dishonesty, violent crime and sleazy ethics—aggravated by an incomprehensible inflation—they can become disillusioned and suspicious, with a declining faith in business, in government, in religion, and even in one another.

I don't know of another time in this country when the task of keeping good public relations has been so difficult. Perhaps, too, there has never been a time when the whole concept of public relations needed more to be reevaluated by standards applicable to current problems. We may have to go back and reexamine not only our product, our service and our cause, but the values and purposes of each. In fact, we might be justified in changing the title of our vice-president in charge of public relations to vice-president in charge of ethics. This would be in keeping with the fact that the best way to communicate is to tell the truth—on both sides.

But more than that. The new public relations director might well replace the lawyer as the liaison in management, just as the lawyer has often become the public relations officer. If we wish to maintain a sufficient measure of free enterprise in business, we must rise above what is simply not illegal to the level of what is right. The kind of free enterprise that takes all the law allows and then some has been out of style for some time. However, that style keeps coming back in the wrong places at the wrong time. In a period of severe inflation special interest enterprise can be especially dangerous to all free enterprise.

Since I know of no business in America that would so quickly and substantially benefit from a surge of public honesty as retailing, I now wish to tell you more about what American Viewpoint, Inc. is doing to help make America honest enough to stay free. Last December, when I became president of American Viewpoint, we announced a program to extend economic and political freedom in the United States by improving our ethics. We bought a full page in *The Wall Street Journal* to outline our three-phase program. First, we want to develop a massive mass media campaign to debunk dishonesty. We wish to make honesty socially and culturally "all right," the smart thing, maybe even fairly fashionable. The campaign should be handled on a public interest basis by the media, such as they do for the American Cancer Society, the Heart Association and other groups attacking killer diseases. We believe that dishonesty, sleazy ethics and crime are highly deadly diseases and can kill the diminishing chances we have of remaining a free society. And certainly these evils are already destroying the quality of our lives.

Although economic historians may not agree on which comes first, a severe decline in a society's honesty and morality or a severe inflationary spiral, the two do seem to go together. Some have already started asking: Can a free society survive a long and severe period of inflation? The prime basis for this question is the unequal burden of inflation. Those who cannot keep pace in the inflation race will condemn the whole track meet.

Let me hasten to say to any academicians who may be present that our ethics programs are not based on any efforts to change the nature of man. We simply wish to lessen the team-spirit pressure, the duress of team

play, on the corporate vice-president who wants to tell the truth, just as we wish to lessen the peer-group pressure on the kid in the class who doesn't approve of cheating. Fear of exclusion from the group keeps too many people flexible in their integrity. We must make a liar as alien to our society as a card cheat.

We shall soon start a test campaign in three markets to determine public response to our efforts to demonstrate that it is not stupid or nuts to be honest. Especially do we wish the youth of America to learn that you can be professionally and financially successful, even rich, and be honest. Of course, one may have to work a little harder and know a lot more. Honesty is really not a lazy person's game.

For too long we have failed to recognize that the public, that is every individual citizen, is responsible for maintaining a free society—is responsible for crime, for dishonesty, for dishonest politics. So it is absolutely urgent that we take our challenge to improve our ethics directly to the public through massive mass media efforts. It is too late to wait for another generation to come along and do it. If we don't act to strengthen the ethical underpinnings of our free society, the next generation may not be free to do so.

In reference to our high rate of crime, isn't it reasonable to expect crime to be bred in a bed of pervasive dishonesty? Isn't it true that quickness and certainty of punishment are great deterrents to crime? Isn't it likely that if all elements in our enforcement procedures were fully honest we might greatly increase the speed and sureness of punishment? But for all this we need the sanction of an honest and responsible citizenry.

The second part of our ethics program is to research and develop new and more relevant teaching materials on ethics and values for use in the public schools—from kindergarten through graduate schools. Some good materials are now being used in public schools. We wish to study and assess such materials as well as to develop new approaches. Good ethics is basic to all good religions and there are no justifiable reasons for public schools to neglect the teaching of values.

The third phase of our program is to encourage all professional and trade associations, corporations and labor unions, to develop or update their own codes of ethics. We would like for such groups to take their codes of ethics out of the frames on the walls, read them, practice them, and enforce them.

In carrying out these programs we hope to establish an Ethical Resources Center at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for all the Western world to use—a center where any school could write in for data on teaching values at whatever grade level, any municipality could write in for sample municipal codes of ethics and information about how they worked, a center where any trade or professional association could write in for material that might be used to update their codes of ethics.

It is my greatest hope that we can get our mass media program started by January 1st—certainly in our test markets. But not until I published our full-page ad in *The Wall Street Journal* last December 14 did I realize that honesty, yes, plain honesty, is a controversial issue in the United States. Some leaders have told me that they are hesitant about supporting us for fear they would be accused of duplicity. Many of my business acquaintances said our program was too idealistic. At least, that is one reason they gave for not supporting us. The great foundations, including one funded entirely by the Federal government, have apparently decided that funding a project such as studying the mating habits of the purple-winged butterfly in northeast New Guinea is far more valuable to America in these critical

times than any efforts we might make to strengthen the ethical underpinning of our society so that the very freedom from which they benefit can be maintained.

But at American Viewpoint we have used some of the old free enterprise spirit. We all work on a non-paid volunteer basis, except for one part-time secretary. We are investing our money, our time and our faith in freedom. And we have just published a paperback book on "How To Make America More Honest." Our book sells for \$1.50 a copy and all the sales revenue goes to finance our ethics program. If we sell enough of these books we may earn enough money to carry out our entire campaign. But I hope we don't have to wait that long.

In recent weeks it appears that a lot of Americans are beginning to share our belief that this job of restigmatizing dishonesty needs to be done—must be done and soon. We are waking up to the realism of idealism, to the powerfully tangible effects of the intangibles. Business leaders are recognizing how drastically attitudes alone can change equity values.

So our paperback book is starting to sell. The problem has been to get distribution. Some of the wholesalers told me they couldn't do business with us because we didn't have 25 titles to put on their computers. Oh, it's sometimes hard for the little guy, and we understand, but we are succeeding. I told them that if our book presented a new sex discovery, they would find a place, no matter who published it. The retailers were more cooperative. Several big book chains have now ordered. I guess they figure that if they sold our book, maybe they would reduce their own employee and customer theft. The real answer is that we have created some consumer demand out there by appearing on numerous TV and radio shows, including the "Today" show. Roscoe Drummond, a highly regarded syndicated newspaper columnist, told his readers they should read "Gulag Archipelago" and then our book so they would know what to do to avoid any "Gulags" in America. If tomorrow every segment and almost every person in business and labor would convert to a full schedule of honesty we might be surprised at how much all of us would benefit. Profits, productivity and wages might go up and prices go down. Who knows? But the question really isn't the extent of cost benefits of increased honesty and responsibility but whether our free enterprise system can survive a further decline in honesty.

One of the great news magazines, *Time*, will soon start running ads on our book—ads that ask the reader to go to their retailer. *Time* will run these on a public interest basis. How proud Mr. Luce would have been of their continued leadership. Some radio and TV stations are expected to follow suit. We are grateful for such leadership. We are also proud that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, through their magazine *Nation's Business*, was among the first to widely publicize our efforts.

I knew when I took this job that it would be difficult to relate a campaign for honesty to the day-by-day task that all of us face in making a living and continuing to enjoy freedom. But we are making progress each day that passes.

The time has come in the United States for the people to decide whether they really wish an open and politically free society because no free society can exist without a high degree of honesty. This is not just my opinion. It is a commonly agreed upon historical fact. Honesty is a basic working social principle, not just a moral guideline. Of course, most people in this country are honest or we couldn't do business nor could we maintain sufficient order. That is not the question. The question today is at what level must public honesty be maintained in order for a democracy to function. When truth,



when honesty, ceases to be the overwhelming characteristic of a free society, the condition for truth by fiat develops. We do not wish truth to be established by a leader or a government. Yet voter apathy is increasing as part of a national pattern of "diminishing participation." To my knowledge, we don't have the research which reveals the figures, but I believe that unless 75 to 80 per cent of the people are habitually, generally honest, an open society cannot function. I believe that if dishonesty and individual apathy and irresponsibility declines 10 to 15 per cent from present levels, the United States is in very serious trouble—especially if inflation persists.

We must make mass media efforts to achieve a consensual validation within the public at large that honesty is safe, selfish and very practical. It's urgent. Many people are really afraid to be forthright and honest. It leaves them defenseless and open to arrows of criticism. They become evasive and evasiveness soon develops into dishonesty. This is unintentional; it's an environmental response.

Doubtless, much good work has been done in the behavioral sciences and in the humanities. But our schools, our educators, our foundations may be spending too much time and too many billions in the esoteric areas of the arts and humanities and not nearly enough on ethics and values, on the morality that gives meaning and purpose to all educators—to life itself. I am afraid that too many of our educational leaders have not only overlooked the transcendental basis but also the scientific basis for the Golden Rule. And while the faculties of our universities demand to be academically free, they seem to forget that back of anyone's individual freedom must be a free society. It is noble to speak of humanistic goals but it is necessary to understand that humans in order to be fully human must be free.

Some observers have been using the figure of 15 to 20 years as the time lag before our nation ceases to be what we still can call an economically and politically free society. They may be right, but I think they are optimistic. I believe that during these next two or three years the critical decisions will be made. And American businesses, big and little, but especially big businesses, and big labor, must make up their minds: Do they or don't they wish an honest, competitive, free-market economy? If business and labor demand more special favors from government they must pay for them with more regulations. And since our current post-industrial, super-technological economy cannot function without the large corporate structures, we must strive to keep them free. But when business or labor interests seek from government non-competitive advantages, they thereby declare their own lack of faith in a free market economy.

I am concerned about the frequency with which we hear about the demise of the free enterprise system. Some are saying that the whole idea of the economic system of the West is in question. And we hear so much about nationalization of transportation, energy companies and utilities that I would not be surprised to find a nationalization plank in a 1976 candidate's platform—especially if there are three or four national parties on the scene. As business moves toward government for help, government moves toward business with regulations. Both government and business, in so doing, lose sight of the primacy of the people's interest. And the public has enjoyed so many benefits from government and from business under our system that it has neglected its own sense of individual responsibility.

You cannot have political freedom and personal freedom without economic freedom. Economic freedom is based on honesty and faith. Honesty and faith cannot be imposed on a public. The morality must stem from

the society itself. But so long as competition and free choice are available, I believe economic welfare and political freedom will be greater than if we permitted someone, or some governmental department, to make the choices for us.

Too many citizens and philosophers believe a political system is only as good as its leaders and blame those leaders for a breakdown in morality. What the leaders believe actually reflects society or they would not be leaders. It's up to the individual participants in a society to develop their own standards—that is if they wish a free and democratic system.

In our book on "How To Make America More Honest" I have stated: "When a business operates honestly in consideration of its environment, produces a good product or service in an honestly competitive segment of a free market economy and makes a profit because of its efficiency in doing so, it's being not only socially responsible, but highly ethical, too. When a business so performs, there should never be an occasion for the president of the company to feel that he must apologize to anyone for making a good profit." To the critics who might doubt this statement, please note the qualifications of an honestly competitive free-market economy.

Now, as to the relationship of ethics and profits, we should first keep in mind that the ultimate goal of ethics is the moral and spiritual perfection of individuals, while the ultimate goal of business is to help provide the opportunity, the means, for man to achieve his ethical goals. For what other purpose should humans live, should any institution exist? The profit system just happens to be the one that has worked best to achieve these goals. (But young people, particularly, rightly decry putting materialism ahead of all other goals. As a primary goal materialism is destructive. As a secondary goal in life it is enormously beneficial and makes all the more possible man's ability to achieve his human potentials.)

In order that we may be thinking together, let's define profits as the favorable result of business operations—the excess of income over expenditures. It's the incentive of an elastic profit that gives vitality to a free enterprise system.

If there were no profit in America, it is doubtful that there would be much, if any, political freedom. Profits are still the best measure of the efficiency and beneficial service performance of business in an honestly competitive economy. Thus the making of profits is a highly ethical goal of business.

When we accept profit as a good motive, we should identify it with freedom and responsibility. The American public must understand, before it's too late, that profits and individual freedom go together. And business must understand that destroying competition is suicide for freedom. To maximize either profits or wages under less than honestly competitive conditions, we engage in an expedient, short-range program that has no service feature or ethical base in its strategy. Excessive profit, usually obtained under less than honestly competitive conditions, destroys itself just as excessive wages are self destructive under the same type of non-competitive conditions.

Unfortunately, some of those who have risen to the defense of American capitalism and the free enterprise system do more harm than good. For private property is not a God-ordained institution. It has been created by society, which grants us the right to hold this property in return for the performance of socially desirable ends. But I cannot over-emphasize that when one talks about a free-market economy, one must recognize that the very essence of such an economy is honesty in method and policy. The main source of criticism of our system today is not that

it is not the best, but that it is operated too dishonestly. And we may be surprised that the source of much of this criticism is neither from the far left nor from the far right. It is from independent business and professional people who are the very prototypes of free enterprise, but whose honesty and courage will not permit them to tolerate injustice, unfairness and discrimination from big business, big labor or big government.

In a highly complex, interdependent society, with an ever increasing technology that binds us all together, the tolerance that allows for irresponsibility and dishonesty in any segment of society becomes narrower and closer. More than those of us now living could have ever imagined, the ethic needed for one to an acre is very different from the ethic needed for one thousand to an acre. We didn't need a Population Conference to tell us this, but I wish they had done a better job of telling this to the world. The ethic of a world of nations that blackmails one another for food or oil, all in the presence of nuclear power roaming the seas and air and starvation resting in the hills and on the deserts, would have been beyond our understanding. It is even more beyond our understanding now. If technology, rather than ethics or morality, enforces cooperation in order that we may survive, then an imposed centralized authority becomes inevitable.

For some strange reason, a good public relations man cautioned me against mentioning the word consumerism at this meeting today. He thought that by chance there might be a few of you here whose opinions about what's been going on in the Senate on the Consumer Protection bill were different from others among you.

But I must say that those who fear the rising consumerism movements should consider that the greatest antidote to consumerism is truth and responsibility. It is reasonable to assume that the more dishonesty and irresponsibility we have, the larger, more annoying and more expensive will be the cost of government and the cost of business. And, concomitantly, the more demands the consumer will make for imposed government authority and standards.

I love lots of freedom. I ran my businesses without interference, except from the stimulating prods of competitors. I have lived an insolently free life, professionally and personally—and I like it. We have a daughter who is a 22-year-old lawyer, a son who is a 21-year-old advertising executive, and a 16-year-old college-student daughter who is already a part-time journalist. They are profound thinkers and individualists. They have a great future. You, too, no doubt, have sons and daughters in whom you have great faith. For whom you want great opportunities. But if they are to achieve a high measure of their human potential, they must enjoy economic and political freedom. For the benefit and glory of all Americans, young and old, I hope you will join with us in a crusade against two of America's greatest evils—hypocrisy and dishonesty. That is the road to more efficient business, as well as more efficient and far less government. The cathartic effect of simple honesty can have an extraordinary effect on the moral confusion and so-called alienation in our society. It can have, too, an enormous benefit on profits and productivity. It may be our single most effective move against inflation. Perhaps a great and unifying improvement in our ethics and basic honesty will so heighten our morale, build our inner strengths, that other nations will respect us all the more for our example and for our determination to uphold the principles of freedom. And if the United States cannot make it up to the next level of civilization, if we cannot survive with a high degree of economic and political freedom, what nation can or will?

# DOCTOR SUPPLY FACES THREAT— PART II

## HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to read in the November 2, 1973, Erie Morning News that the Pennsylvania secretary of health has proposed a medical school without walls to produce general practice physicians for the Erie area. I think my colleagues may be interested in an article from that newspaper.

[From the Erie Morning News, Nov. 2, 1973]

### GP MED SCHOOL PROPOSED IN ERIE

(By George Cantoni)

Pennsylvania Secretary of Health J. Finton Speller has proposed a "medical school without walls" to produce general practice physicians for the Erie area.

Speller made the proposal in a letter sent to deans of the Commonwealth's seven medical schools and legislators earlier this year, according to the deputy secretary, Dr. Charles Leedham.

Citing the area's colleges, hospitals and patients in the city's population, Leedham said Erie could provide general practitioners with solid basic teaching in general science and clinical experience.

In addition, Dr. Leedham said, a medical school would develop general practitioners to locate in this area, providing more "family doctors" for the Erie County area.

Dr. Leedham, along with other members of the Pennsylvania State Board of Medical Education and Licensure, was a guest of the Erie Post-Graduate Medical Institute at a public hearing on a medical school Thursday evening at Gannon College.

The Erie Post-Graduate Medical Institute—an association of Erie County medical and osteopathic physicians—appears to be the main force to establish a medical school here, since a medical school would provide more opportunities for continuing medical education to the area physicians, the Institute's primary goal.

Dr. John Robertson, chairman of the state medical education board and a Philadelphia surgeon, spoke of the lack of spaces in medical schools, adding that the problem is further complicated in Pennsylvania since its seven medical schools "take a lot of out-of-state students". Of 38,000 students who applied to medical schools in this country, only 13,000 students were accepted.

Dr. Philip Ingaglio, a board member and Philadelphia general practitioner, said he was "impressed" with Erie's potential for a medical school.

"You have more than enough facilities and more than enough beds," he said, "There's enough going on in the various disciplines."

"I think a medical school without walls would be very fortunate," Dr. Ingaglio said, adding, "with the proviso that you share residency programs."

He said the "medical schools without walls" concept would "greatly reduce costs," and serve as an "excellent way in solving problems of foreign medical graduates."

Seeing the Erie proposed medical school as a system for training those pre-medical students who are not accepted at a state medical school, Dr. Ingaglio cited the area as having a "close to perfect setup here." He said the Institute is "developed to that point."

Dr. Richard Lyons, a local physician and

member of the state medical education board, said the medical school proposal would take "total community cooperation" and urged that the various hospitals and colleges work together to iron out differences and make the medical school a reality.

"With community support, we can do all kinds of things," Dr. Lyons said, referring to the success of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., where he studied as a medical student.

Dr. William Kelly, another member of the state board and Pittsburgh internist, said the three problems facing the proposed medical school are the community, the community hospitals and physicians on the boards and the involvement of legislators.

State Sen. Quentin Orlando and Rep. Robert Bellomini both expressed their interest in the medical school and called for active local support to take with them to Harrisburg.

Dr. Kelly said the revised Pennsylvania Medical Practice Act, which is presently being developed, would take the national organizations out as medical authorities in Pennsylvania and retain them rather as consultants. The revised act would also bring the community hospitals into the mainstream of medical education.

Dr. Russell Roth, president of the American Medical Association and an Erie physician, said he hoped that the state board does not think in terms of limiting funds to the state's seven medical schools on the condition that they consider Pennsylvania students above out-of-state students.

Dr. Walker said he thinks in terms of \$9 to \$10 million—rather than \$100 million for the new Hershey Medical School—for Erie's program with 30 to 40 students to start. "It's not an impossibility," he said.

In the meantime, state medical education officials urged the hospitals—both medical and osteopathic—to join residency programs and work for affiliation with an already established medical school.

The medical education officials said organizations made up of medical school deans are seeking to wipe out all residency programs at community hospitals not affiliated with medical schools.

## AMENDMENT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 988

### HON. BILL GUNTER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. GUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I intend to offer the following amendment to House Resolution 988 and hereby attach the text to give timely notice to my colleagues.

I believe the amendment will satisfy any and all objections to the language of the amendment offered Tuesday.

If my colleagues are serious about extending the principle of government in the sunshine to cover business and markup sessions as well as hearings held in committee, then we will agree:

To House Resolution 988, on page 45, strike out lines 2 through 23, and on page 46, strike out lines 1 and 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(g)(1) Each meeting of each standing, select, or special committee or subcommittee, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public: *Provided*, That a portion or portions of such meetings, except meetings to conduct hearings, may be closed

to the public if the committee or subcommittee, as the case may be, determines by vote of a majority of the members of the committee or subcommittee, with a quorum being present; matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such portion or portions—

"(A) will probably disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national security or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

"(B) will relate solely to matters of committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

"(C) will tend to jeopardize the present or future legal rights of any person or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of any individual;

"(D) will probably disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement; or

"(E) will disclose information relating to trade secrets or financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person where—

"(1) the information has been obtained by the Federal government pursuant to an agreement to maintain confidentiality of such information;

"(2) a Federal statute requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or

"(3) the information is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person.

Provided further that each hearing conducted by each committee or subcommittee thereof shall be open to the public except when the committee or subcommittee, in open session and with a quorum present, determines by rollcall vote that all or part of the remainder of that hearing shall be closed to the public because disclosure of testimony, evidence, or other matters to be considered would endanger the national security or would violate any law or rule of the House of Representatives.

A separate vote of the committee shall be taken with respect to each committee or subcommittee meeting that is closed to the public pursuant to this paragraph, and the committee shall make available within one day of such meeting a written explanation of its action. The vote of each committee member participating in each such vote shall be recorded and published.

"(2) Each standing, select, or special committee or subcommittee shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of each meeting (whether open or closed to the public) at least one week before such meeting unless the committee or subcommittee determines by a vote of the majority of the committee that committee business requires that such meeting be called at an earlier date, in which case the committee shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of such meeting at the earlier practicable opportunity.

"(3) A complete transcript, including a list of all Members of the committee or subcommittee attending, and of all other persons participating and their function or affiliation, shall be made of each meeting of each standing, select, or special committee or subcommittee meeting (whether open or closed to the public) in addition to the record required by paragraph (e)(1). Except as provided in subparagraph (4), a copy of each such transcript shall be made available for public inspection within seven days of each such meeting, and additional copies of any transcript shall be furnished to any person at the actual cost of duplication.

"(4) In the case of meetings closed to the public pursuant to subparagraph (1), the



committee or subcommittee may delete from the copies of transcripts that are required to be made available or furnished to the public pursuant to subparagraph (3) any portions which it determines by vote of the majority of the committee, or subcommittee consist of material specified in subdivision (A), (B), (C), (D), or (E) of subparagraph (1). A separate vote of the committee or subcommittee shall be taken with respect to each transcript. The vote of each committee or subcommittee member participating in each such vote shall be recorded and published. In place of each portion deleted from copies of the transcript made available to the public, the committee shall supply a written explanation of why such portion was deleted and a summary of the substance of the deleted portion that does not itself disclose information specified in subdivision (A), (B), (C), (D), or (E) of subparagraph (1). The committee or subcommittee shall maintain a complete copy of the transcript of each meeting (including those portions deleted from copies made available to the public) for a period of at least one year after such meetings.

"(5) A point of order may be raised against any committee or subcommittee vote to close a meeting to the public pursuant to subparagraph (1), or against any committee or subcommittee vote to delete from the publicly available copy a portion of a meeting transcript pursuant to subparagraph (4), by committee or subcommittee members comprising one-fourth or more of the total membership of the entire committee or subcommittee. Any such point of order must be raised before the entire House within five legislative days after the vote against which the point of order is raised, and such point of order shall be a matter of highest privilege. Each such point of order shall immediately be referred to a Select Committee on Meetings consisting of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the majority leader, and the minority leader. The select committee shall report to the House within five calendar days (excluding days when the House is not in session) a resolution containing its findings. If the House adopts a resolution finding that the committee vote in question was not in accordance with the relevant provision of subparagraph (1), it shall direct that there be made publicly available the entire transcript of the meeting improperly closed to the public or the portion or portions of any meeting transcript improperly deleted from the publicly available copy.

"(6) The Select Committee on Meetings shall not be subject to the provisions of subparagraph (1), (2), (3), or (4).

## THE CHARLESTON TEXTBOOK DISPUTE

### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1974

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, parent and miner protests in Charleston, W. Va., have been prominently featured in the news in the recent month. The parents of Kanawha County have finally read for themselves some of the textbooks which their children are required to use in compulsory classes supported by tax money exacted from their parents. What they find is that the textbooks are designed to separate the children from their parents and their culture, in too many cases. One columnist for a West Virginia newspaper recently took a look for himself at these textbooks, and saw what the parents were talking about. He concludes with words with which I find myself very much in agreement:

Historically the goal of education has been to raise the level of society, but these books take the reverse view and aim to level society to the lowest common denominator. If that is the goal of education, then we don't need to spend a lot of money to do it. It would occur naturally.

I insert the full text of the comments from the West Virginia newspaper to show that there is a genuine problem with elementary and secondary education there:

#### MUST EDUCATION CORRUPT?

I have looked at examples of the new English books that are proposed for Kanawha County schools, and I am horrified. I expected them to have some objectionable things in them after I heard the WCBS-TV editorial try to justify one book about a queer person. Curtis Butler explained the "queer" really didn't mean what we thought it did, that "queer" only meant unusual, and, if you didn't believe this, you could look it up in the dictionary. This doesn't quite jibe with the rest of the content, however, which is supposed to be relevant—that is, to relate to the language of the real world that people live in and to use language the way it is used today. It would be hard to find a person today who doesn't consider that "queer" means homosexual, yet that thought is not supposed to enter our minds.

I object to this literature because I see very little in it that is inspiring or uplifting.

On the contrary it appears to attack the social values that make up civilization.

Repeatedly it pits black against white accentuating their differences and thereby, stirring up racial animosity.

It dwells at length on the sexual aspects of human relationships in such an explicit way as to encourage promiscuity.

The theme of pacifism runs throughout. It repeatedly and continuously depicts the horrors of war without ever suggesting, so far as I could find, the possibility that men have fought wars because conditions were intolerable and that some things are worth fighting for.

It concentrates on the sordid aspects of life without ever suggesting that there is, or can be, a beautiful aspect. By so doing it promotes hopelessness and fails to motivate upward.

One example of the content that I object to is found in the supplementary reader entitled, "War and Peace". This "poem to be read aloud" consists of 26 lines starting with "BombA, BombB, BombC" and continuing through the alphabet to the last line, "BombZ". That is the entire poem. One thing is sure—it shouldn't be hard to memorize.

Another poem has the line, "Christ said that when one sheep was lost, the rest meant nothing anymore." It is hard to imagine how a philosophy could be so completely distorted.

Another book gives examples of answers to use when accused of shoplifting to avoid prosecution. These are not just isolated examples. It was the extent of this type of propaganda throughout the books that shocked me. Time tested literary classics are crowded out by the type of writing I have described. You have to look through the books to believe it, and every parent and taxpayer should take the time to do it.

Aside from the fact that the philosophy is revolutionary and appears to attack the accepted values of our society, the series really doesn't do a very good job of teaching grammar. The course suggests that there are many dialects within our society and that the grammatical forms commonly accepted as right are not necessarily the correct ones, that expressions like "he dont understand" can be perfectly acceptable. It appears to promote the use of "aint" as acceptable.

I use "aint", but I always know it is not correct, and, furthermore, I didn't have to go to school to learn to use it. This brings up the real objection to this curriculum: Why spend money to teach the very things that uneducated people do naturally? Historically the goal of education has been to raise the level of society, but these books take the reverse view and aim to level society to the lowest common denominator. If that is the goal of education, then we don't need to spend a lot of money to do it. It would occur naturally.

## SENATE—Wednesday, October 9, 1974

The Senate met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

#### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Hear the words of the prophet Isaiah: "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint."—Isaiah 40: 31.

Help us, O Lord, to run when we can, to walk when we ought, and to wait when we must. May the pace of our work be consistent with the urgency of our Nation's needs. Help us to create great programs and to attempt great deeds. When we are uncertain give us the wisdom and grace to seek Thy clear guidance.

We pray in His name, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of

the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, October 8, 1974, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.